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ABSTRACT

The first volume of this 4-volume report presents the basic rationale for an anthropological and cross-cultural approach to education, abstracts of 14 research projects sponsored by the American Anthropological Association, a proposal for the establishment of a Research Center for Anthropology and Education to be coordinated by the Association, a summary of the contents of the four volumes, a report on a bibliography on anthropology and education compiled by the Association and available from the Library of Congress, and the first part of a report on the Conference on the Culture of Schools held at Greystone, New York, in 1966. (The second half of the Greystone conference report appears in Vol. II, SP 003 901.) Representative titles of the 14 research projects include: "A Study in Organizational Interaction Between an Evening College and Its Parent Institution;" "The Natural History of the Education of the Deprived Negro Child in School, Family and Peer Cultures;" "Some Aspects of Socialization Through Formal Schooling Relating Primarily to Civic and Moral Education;" and "The Secondary School System in the Netherlands; Some Social Consequences of Streaming." The Greystone conference report indicates that participants felt that research should be done in the areas of teacher training institutions, socialization aspects in segregated schools, and comparative studies of schools within several types of communities. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of the original document.] (RT)

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ED039209

FINAL REPORT

CULTURE OF SCHOOLS PROGRAM

Vol. I

SP003900

Office of Education Contract No. OEC - 1 - 6 - 062657 - 0846

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

Page

Introduction

Research Stimulated vi

The Need for Research xxiv

The Cross-Cultural Approach xxxiv

Activities Undertaken xlii

Concluding Suggestions xliv

Abstract of Culture of Schools Continuation Proposal - Submitted by the American Anthropological Association xlvii

Activity Summary Reports

Greystone House Conference lxviii

New School Conference lxxii

Pittsburgh Symposium lxxiv

Washington Conference lxxv

"Anthropological Perspectives on Education" - a Monograph in preparation lxxvii

Bibliographic Summary Report lxxix

Proceedings of the Conference on the Culture of Schools Held at Greystone House

Introductory remarks: Stanley Diamond 1

Short statements

Solon T. Kimball 8
Ina C. Brown 11
Jacquetta H. Burnett 15
John H. Chilcott 17
Elizabeth M. Eddy 20

John C. Connelly 23
Charles R. Griffith 30
Zachary Gussow 35
Discussion 45
Theodore W. Parsons 46
Warren A. Snyder 51
Discussion 56
Raymond Wilkie 57
Yehudi A. Cohen 61
Robert Hanvey 63
Thomas Green 66
Estelle S. Fuchs 68
John Collier, Jr. 70
William A. Westley 78
Momoyo Ise 79
Murray Wax 82

Schools as Social Systems: Donald Horton 87
Discussion 108

When Most Teachers Become Obsolete: Some Problems for Social Scientists: Yehudi A. Cohen 124
Discussion 157

VOLUME TWO

Proceedings of the Conference on the Culture of Schools Held at Greystone House (cont'd.)

Some Features of the Crisis in Mass Education: Thomas F. Green 174
Discussion 204

Great Tradition, Little Tradition, and Formal Education: Murray and Rosalie Wax 229
Wax Session - Summary 263

Methodological Problems in Studying the Culture of Schools: Eleanor Leacock 274
Discussion 297

Proceedings of the Colloquium on the Culture of Schools Held at the New School for Social Research

Introductory Remarks: Stanley Diamond 314

Is Education Possible: Jules Henry 319
Discussion 334

The Four Stages of Education: Frank Riesman 337
Discussion 347

Education and Social Change: Christopher Jencks 350
Discussion 363

The Art and Science of Teaching: Francis Ianni 368
Discussion 377

The Culture of Poverty; the Story of Catin: Oscar Lewis 379
Discussion 407

The Science of Teaching: Paul Goodman 411
Discussion 408

VOLUME THREE

Proceedings of the Colloquium on the Culture of Schools Held at the New School for Social Research (cont'd.)

Towards a Philosophy of Education, Given the Crisis in Mass Education in Our Times: John Seeley 421

The Reign of Reason: Thomas Green 435

Concluding Discussion 447

Selected Papers Given before the Culture of Schools Symposium, American Anthropological Association Annual Convention, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Education and Social Stratification in Contemporary Bolivia: Lambros Comitas 453

Anthropology and the Administration of Schools: A Structural Analytic Approach: Francis A. Ianni .. 469

Proceedings of the Conference on Anthropology, Education and the Schools, Held in Washington, D.C.

The Schools as Cultural Instructional Systems 497

The Development of Curricula in Anthropology for Schools 501

The Preparation and Support of Teachers 506

The Development of Anthropology and Education 511

Selections from "Anthropological Perspectives in Education"

The Shaping of Men's Minds: Adaptations to Imperatives of Culture: Yehudi A. Cohen 515

Early Childhood Experience and Later Education in Complex Cultures: Margaret Mead 572

On Communicative Competence: Dell Hymes 628

Hippies and Social Change: Daniel Schecter 641

VOLUME FOUR

Selections from "Anthropological Perspectives in Education" (cont'd.)

Great Tradition, Little Tradition, and Formal Education: Murray and Rosalie Wax 668

Indians, Hillbillies, and the "Education Problem": Robert K. Thomas and Albert L. Wahrhaftig 693

Education of the Negro Child: Jules Henry 724

Anthropology and the Primary Grades: Frederick O. Gearing 749

The University in the Community: Backgrounds and Perspectives on Higher Adult Education: Ben Rothblatt and Sol Tax 785

The Interplay of Forces in the Development of a Small School System: Donald Horton 815

Psychiatry and the Schools: Ronald Leifer 836

Citizenship or Certification: Thomas Green 893

INTRODUCTION

1

Research Stimulated

The overall purpose of the Culture of Schools Program was to serve as a spearhead for research development in the social dynamics and cultural patterns which constitute mass education.

This fundamental purpose has been achieved. A wide range of proposals was submitted to the Bureau of Research of the Office of Education via the Culture of Schools Program, and a substantial percentage of these, carefully preselected and presented, was contracted, totalling approximately half a million dollars for both domestic and cross-cultural research. The range is indicated in the list of abstracts below. With regard to these proposals, special note should be made that an effort was undertaken to build further on the work of sophisticated investigators by shaping proposals to more explicitly educational ends. At the same time, several younger people of promise were funded. Moreover, pioneer efforts (such as those in the field of socio-linguistics) were stimulated by the Program.

Three research seminars also were organized in order to stimulate concern at universities with the problems of education in their broadest definition, while focusing interdisciplinary resources on these problems and, if possible, to form associations with local educational officers.

The abstracts of the proposals follow:

Title of Project: Seminar on the Sociology of the Classroom
Director: Raymond L. Gold
Contracting Agency: University of Montana Foundation
Duration of Activity: April 1, 1967 - March 31, 1968

The seminar aims to review what is known about the classroom, observe systematically a wide range of classrooms, and in the end suggest a program of research projects on educationally and behaviorally significant aspects of the classroom. The seminar will meet on the University of Montana campus during the summer of 1967. It will be staffed primarily by a sociologist of the University of Montana. Its participants will include school administrators, school board members, classroom teachers, and doctoral candidates in education and in the behavioral sciences. It will discuss its review of the literature on the classroom, initiate a series of exploratory studies of the classroom, discuss these studies, and prepare proposals for a comprehensive program of behavioral research on the classroom. Out of all this will come proposals for more intensive research projects, which will yield useful theory on social interaction in the classroom, and a systematically developed body of knowledge on personal, educational, and social consequences of this interaction.

Project Number: 6-8725

Title: A Study in Organizational Interaction Between an Evening College and its Parent Institution

Contractor: New School of Social Research
New York, New York

Principal Investigator: Myrtle S. Jacobson
Instructor in Anthropology and Staff Executive
School of General Studies
Brooklyn College
Brooklyn, New York

Duration of Activity: November 1, 1966 to October 31, 1967

Purpose of Project. The principal objective of this study is to examine how an educational sub-institution functions within the regulatory orbit of a parent institution. Of special interest is the manner in which the relationship of dependency upon the parent institution vis-a-vis strivings for autonomy is both functional and dysfunctional to the achievement of its stated goals.

Contribution to Education. In their essential characteristics - student body and instructional staff - evening colleges are distinguishable from their day-time counterparts. The evening college is also a suborganization within the larger college structure, subject to the latter's control, yet differing in the goals it has developed to suit the character of its students and instructors. This project would be the first to provide some insights into the types of stresses existing between the evening college and its parent institution, and to examine the modifications in structure and functions that emerge from them.

Methodology. The project will be a case study of the School of General Studies of Brooklyn College, which has a student enrollment over 10,000 and an instructional staff over 600. Sources of data will include College records as well as formal and informal interviews with administration, faculty and staff.

Project Number: 6-2846

Title: Comparative Analysis of the World View and Life Histories of Urban Negro and Puerto Rican School Children

Principal Investigator: Oscar Lewis

Institution: University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois 61801

Duration of Activity: July 1, 1967 to June 30, 1970

This project represents one stage in long term research plans to develop the field of urban anthropology and family studies. A study of Negro school children from low-income families will be compared with the results of an on-going study on Puerto Rican children to: 1) develop comparative literature on anthropological family studies; 2) devise more adequate field methods; 3) study the problems of adjustment and the changes in the family life of migrants to New York.

The methods to be used in the study are a combination of the traditional techniques used in sociology, anthropology, and psychology, and include questionnaires, interviews, participant-observation, biographies, a limited number of intensive whole family case studies, and the application of selected psychological tests.

The general objective will be to get children's views of the larger society, the slum community, the school, and the family. This comparative analysis of American Negro low income families with low income Puerto Rican families will provide very crucial data about subcultural differences and the relationship between education, the process of socialization, and family backgrounds.

Project Number: 6-8783

Title: Research Seminar in Higher Education and Society

Principal Investigator: Willis E. Sibley
Associate Professor of Anthropology
Department of Anthropology
Washington State University

Contracting Agency: Washington State University
Pullman, Washington 99163

Duration of Activity: June 16, 1966 to March 31, 1967

This abstract summarizes a request for support of a Seminar in Higher Education and Society, to be held at Washington State University during the Fall Semester, 1966-67. The proposal is submitted in coordination with the Culture of Schools Project, Dr. Stanley Diamond, Director, New School for Social Research, New York City.

The purpose of the seminar is to explore the state of knowledge about American institutions of higher education as systems or organizations in their total social and cultural settings; to establish at least preliminary outlines of the settings in which institutions of higher education function and in which their internal dynamics and responses to outside pressures might be subjected profitably to careful field examination and study; and to generate specific field research proposals designed to augment our understanding of selected colleges and universities as they might be understood in their social-cultural positions. Initial attention in research proposals would very likely be focussed on selected institutions in the Pacific Northwest.

The seminar will be held as an offering of the Department of Anthropology, with membership open to advanced graduate students particularly in the fields of anthropology, sociology and education, as well as interested faculty. During the seminar, relevant literature now available will be reviewed and discussed. Several visiting lecturers with special knowledge of the problem would be invited to participate in the seminar for brief periods to supply their unpublished insights into the problems under examination. Papers presented in the seminar will focus on the design of research projects which would fill vast gaps in the empirical data currently available for the analysis of institutions of higher education in their total social-cultural settings, utilizing largely anthropological and sociological techniques of analysis. Prior to the opening of the seminar, a research assistant will be employed to search out, acquire and catalog relevant literature for the use of seminar participants. Limited travel by the principal investigator to visit persons and offices working in the Western United States on similar problems is planned prior to the commencement of the seminar.

The proposed seminar is seen as a first step in a larger program of research designed to examine selected colleges and universities in a manner so far scarcely touched by competently trained social scientists, particularly in the fields of anthropology and sociology. Numerous studies exist of special aspects of higher education, such as teaching techniques, administrative organization, student backgrounds, value change in college students, and so on. However, with the exception of brief published reports such as those of Jencks and Riesman in Sanford's The American College (1962), little scientific attention has been devoted to the study of the institutions viewed holistically as a dynamic social-cultural system, operating within and among other major institutional segments of American culture and society. The long range goal of the research effort is to further the understanding of the cultural and social context of American higher education, by providing additional empirical data concerning the variety and also uniformity with which American colleges seek to achieve their goals.

Proposal Number: 6-2771

Title: The Natural History of the Education of the Deprived Negro Child in School, Family, and Peer Cultures

Principal Investigator: Jules Henry

Institution: Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

Duration of Activity: 36 months

Purpose of Project. This project will study the learning experiences of selected children in home, school and peer culture's over a three-year period, starting in kindergarten and going through first grade.

Expected Contribution to Education. This project could provide: 1) suggestions as to why some fail and others succeed though they come from the same population; 2) a method for evaluating the influences on the educational fate of slum children, of home, school and peer cultures; and 3) suggestions about where the educational problems of ghetto children lie.

Methodology. The natural history will be developed from direct observation of young ghetto children in their natural habitat (home, peer and school milieus). Observation will be supplemented by formal and informal interviewing.

Project Number: 6-8941-2-12-1

Title: Cultures in Conflict: Home and School as Seen Through the Eyes of Lower Class Students

Principal Investigator: Deborah I. Offenbacher

Institution: New School of Social Research
New York, New York

Duration of Activity: 1 year

OE Project Officer: Ronald G. Corwin

Purpose: Much attention has been given recently to discrepancies between the sub-culture of low income groups and the predominantly middle class oriented sub-culture of public elementary and high schools. This study will explore: a) how and to what extent children and youth from low income families perceive and react to such a conflict of sub-cultures; and b) what features of the home and school environment respectively aggravate or mitigate such conflicts.

Contribution to Education: This study will make it possible to formulate working hypotheses regarding specific problems encountered by lower-class students in the public schools and indicate the ways in which students attempt to cope with these problems.

Methodology: One hundred taped interviews will be conducted with a sample of students from low-income families who are attending public elementary and high schools in New York City or who have dropped out of these schools during the past academic year. Focuses of the study will be: a) possible conflicts of role models; b) possible conflicts in norms and values; c) possible incompatibility of cognitive styles; and d) possible conflicts in expectations regarding the future career of the respondent.

Project Number: 7-8205

Title: Some Aspects of Socialization Through Formal Schooling
Relating Primarily to Civic and Moral Education

Principal Investigator: Thomas F. Green

Institution: Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York 13210

Duration: 18 months

OE Project Officer: Ronald G. Corwin

Purpose of Project: This project will establish a working seminar to produce a series of intensive theoretical studies of the socialization process as it is conducted through formal schooling and as that process relates to moral and civic education in a technical society.

Expected Contribution to Education: The technological advancement of American society has caused schooling to become an increasingly necessary prerequisite for positions in adult society. As a result, the schools have been transformed into the primary agency for certifying, sorting, and selecting people for positions. Teaching has become focused on an end product and the student has learned to manipulate the system in order to get the right outcome. This seminar will attempt to make intelligible the relationship between technical competence and moral education.

Methodology: The questions raised in the proposal require the scholarly abilities of people in sociology, anthropology, philosophy of education, history and psychiatry, each commissioned to work on carefully delimited aspects of the problem precisely identified with the assistance of an advisory panel and coordinated through periodic conferences and seminars among the participants.

Project Number: 6-2693

Title: Education for Sense of Vocation Initiative, Cooperation and Management in Denmark, Yugoslavia, and Israel (change requested to Egypt)

Principal Investigator: Lambros Comitas

Contracting Agency: Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York

Duration of Activity: 12 months

OE Project Officer: Ronald G. Corwin

Purpose of Project: This project will investigate means of educating adolescents and young adults, whether in formal schools or in other institutions and environments, to have a sense of engagement, initiative, active citizenship, and vocation in the difficult conditions of modern technology and the increasingly centralized organization of society.

Expected Contribution to Education: This endeavor could show paths of education, adaptable to our own conditions, that will be alternative to our present almost universal formal schooling, and better suited to many adolescents and young adults for whom formal schooling is discouraging.

Methodology: The investigator will start with the ministries of Labor, Culture, and Education and follow leads to relevant institutions and enterprises, and observe and inquire. He will make use of interviews, case histories, and questionnaires.

Project Number: OEC 1-7-068784-0288
Title: Cross-Cultural Differences in the Role of Language
Contracting Agency: University of Pennsylvania
Principal Investigator: Dell H. Hymes
Duration of Activity: September 5, 1966 through June 30, 1967

Cultures and groups differ significantly in the role assigned to language in the processes of education. Ethnographic reports indicate differences with regard to beliefs, values, and practices, as these impinge upon the acquisition of language by the child and the transmission of knowledge by means of language. In effect, language is part of the communicative economy of a culture and subject to cross-cultural differences in patterning, just as any other modality, or resource; and a child acquires not only language, but also a sociolinguistic system which includes a set of attitudes and habits with regard to its value and utilization.

There is no systematic understanding of the ways in which cultures differ in these respects. A careful investigation of ethnographic data from selected cultural areas should make possible a preliminary taxonomy of the variety of sociolinguistic systems which impinge upon education, and of their crucial dimensions. Such a taxonomy should help place the cultural diversity within a country such as the United States in comparative perspective; hopefully, it may be possible to pinpoint problems and variables that would not be highlighted except by a comparative perspective.

Project Number: 7-1080

Title: A Trans-National Study of Formal Education. Its Relationship to the Social System and its Consequences

Principal Investigator: Yehudi A. Cohen

Contracting Agency: Rutgers, The State University

Duration of Activity: Phase I: July 1, 1967 through August 31, 1969
Phase II: September 1, 1969 through August 31, 1971
(to be applied for at a later date)

The purpose of this research is to conduct original field investigations in two modern nations (United States and Israel) of educational systems and their relationships to the integrating forces of both societies. The overall aim of the research is to view the cultures of both these nations as self-perpetuating systems, seeking to learn how much of their cultures can be described and understood in terms of their respective educational systems. This is in contrast to traditional approaches which tend to see educational systems as but one part of the culture.

The procedural part of the research is organized as follows: The first year of field work will be devoted to a study of two communities in Israel, with special attention to the content of education and patterns of self-selectivity for different educational sub-systems. The methodology in this aspect of the study will be based primarily on traditional anthropological methods for the study of small communities. At the same time, attempts will be made to learn about the forces of integration in the society as a whole. A theoretical framework, focusing on the relationships among boundary-sytems, will provide the basis for inquiry into the national culture. The second year of field work will be devoted to large-scale representative sampling and questionnaires in both societies to probe the psychosocial consequences of different degrees of educational experience, measured in numbers of years of formal education.

In order to learn how educational systems are tied to their total social organizations, especially in American society, inquiries are needed in a comparative perspective in order to understand how they are related to social systems in a variety of modern nations. Comparability as well as variability are needed in such research. Before we can understand the relationships of educational institutions to their total social organizations, it is necessary to learn how they are integrated into individual social systems. Comparative work abroad is needed in order to be able to separate variables and to keep the analysis of any one society from becoming totally circular.

Project Number: 6-2727

Title: High School Principal Study Seminar

Principal Investigator: Arthur J. Vidich

Contracting Agency: New School for Social Research
New York, New York

Duration of Activity: 1 year

Purpose: This project will study high school principals in terms of their conceptions of their work, their plans for their institutions, the problems they face as principals and the issues which they, their staffs and their school boards see as central for the high school in contemporary society.

Contribution to Education: This project will aid in the location of contradictions, tensions, blockages and misconceptions that stand in the way of adequate responses to the emergent problems of secondary education.

Methodology: Seminar meetings will be held throughout the year with participants representing a wide range of types and sizes of high schools in the New York metropolitan area.

Principals, assistant principals, members of school boards, administrative and technical staffs and sociologists who have studied high schools will be invited to participate in selected seminars devoted to an examination of special topics. Seminar speakers will be selected for their known view. A number of interviews will also be conducted, primarily during the summer, with persons and in problem areas which cannot be encompassed by the seminar method.

Project Number: 7-8136

Title: The Secondary School System in the Netherlands; Some Social Consequences of Streaming

Principal Investigator: Joseph L. Lennards
Ph.D. Candidate
Princeton University

Duration of Activity: September 1, 1966 through August 31, 1967

In our technologically complex society the school has become the major instrument for the discovery, training and allocation of talent. The consequences of the reliance on the school as the major selective mechanism have not been fully explored. Heretofore, the attention of sociologists has focused primarily on the extent to which class affects access to educational opportunities and educational performance. Less emphasis has been paid to the fact that the nature of the selection process has, in its turn, consequences for the stratification system. If the level of education attained becomes the prime determinant of one's position in the occupational and, hence, the social hierarchy, then we may expect the school to develop special mechanisms for inculcating in the students the legitimacy of having education serve as the basis of the stratification system.

In Europe, this stratification aspect of education is particularly conspicuous because selection for the different types of secondary schools is made at an early age, is rather definitive and results in a segregation of the future highs from the future lows by allocating them to schools of different prestige. This situation provides a special opportunity to test whether the function of the school as the arbiter of social stratification and social mobility is perceived and accepted by the pupils of the different types of school and to study the extent to which norms of social superiority and inferiority are inculcated, strains are produced and tension-reducing mechamisms, like a youth culture, arise to cope with the consequences of such a rigid selection system.

The Netherlands has maintained its traditional system of early selection and streaming in a practically unchanged manner. Therefore, it provides an excellent laboratory for an exploratory study of the attitudes and aspirations of students in the different types of school. In carrying out the research a sample of a number of schools at each level will be drawn and questionnaires will be administered to all the boy students in the fourth grade (14-15 years) and their teachers. In the analysis, special attention will be given to those students, who appear likely to experience a discrepancy between social class background and their future social class, as indicated by their type of current schooling.

We expect the results of this study to contribute to the understanding of:

1. those mechanisms, operating in the school system, which tend to accentuate and mitigate social class cleavages among students;
2. the situations under which particular types of youth culture develop;
3. the type of problems faced by downward mobile and upward mobile students.

The Need for Research

This research development activity was undertaken because universal education, although much studied, is little understood. Although American society has been the world's major laboratory for that tremendous experiment in, and only basis for, democracy, called "mass education," there have been no comprehensive studies of the school as a cultural phenomenon. The present crisis in the means, results, and evaluation of the educational process, along with the fact that increasing proportions of federal, state, and local budgets are being channelled into educational projects, compound the need to investigate the school, the central institution in our society, in the most sophisticated, intensive and candid manner. The full force of the behavioral sciences should be brought to bear on the problems involved, rather than confining inquiries to the more sectarian and instrumental approaches of educational specialists as such. For the schools and schooling are modes of socio-cultural behavior. If we are to guide this behavior with maximum intelligence, we must understand it as fully as possible relevant to its own dynamics and the dynamics of society at large. The schools are the major transmitters of culture among social groups in space and time. So stated, this seems a commonplace, but the implications have hardly been understood much less explored scientifically. The school is the major means of socialization and enculturation in contemporary urban society. That is to say, it sets cultural goals, conveys cultural values, and also serves as the most comprehensive milieu through which the individual matures.

Ours is not a traditional society; the area of familial authority is diminishing. Informal modes of learning outside of the educational establishment are becoming less effective; correlatively, the need for prolonged schooling increases with the complexity of the social tasks and responsibilities faced by the citizenry. In a real sense, schooling and socialization seem to be becoming synonymous. This is a reversal of the situation in traditional societies. In such primitive, peasant-based or rural cultures, formal educational establishments play, at best, a minor role in the learning process. Education is an undifferentiated function of society; skills and values are learned within a shifting network of personal associations. But in contemporary urban society the converse is true, i.e., the general process of socialization is increasingly a function of the educational establishment. The average American child, for example, may enter the first grade when he is six years old, following a year of kindergarten, preceded, perhaps, by attendance at a part-time nursery. Ordinarily, he will remain a student throughout high school and graduate at about the age of eighteen. He is destined to spend twelve years, through childhood, puberty, and adolescence, learning the minimal skills necessary to function in an advanced, industrial culture. He will also develop means of relating to his peers, and to those culturally symbolic persons, his teachers. For at least five hours a day, ten months a year, he will literally go to school. For an additional hour or two on these days, he will be engaged in school related activities. Furthermore, much of his residual time will be spent with his peers, who are most likely to be his schoolmates. The world of the school has the primary and most legitimate claim on his time and energy.

The school also represents an authority system supported by the state, which may be empowered to supersede the will of his parents on critical issues. Although a typical American student is fated to learn many of his attitudes from his parents, he will acquire few specific skills from them. Indeed, in so rapidly changing a society as ours, he may generally come to regard his parents' experience as obsolete. It cannot be overstated that in our specialized and technical culture, a boy learns little of practical value from his father and even a girl will probably learn how to cook in a domestic science class rather than at home. The automation and/or attenuation of domestic arts, and of artisanship generally, has contributed to the decline of the intra-familial possibilities of learning. Parental functions in the area of value indoctrination and role training are being shifted to the schools. Correlatively, the teacher emerges in our society as a parental figure.

In our socially and spatially mobile society, the school provides the major continuity in the child's developing efforts at social orientation. Family relationships may be discontinuous, residences may be shifted, but the child is able theoretically to place himself in society in terms of his roles and statuses in the educational structure. Moreover, schooling is the major stimulus in the child's discovery of self; his capacities are tested and developed. In a society alive with so many possibilities and complicated by the need for so many personal decisions of social consequence, the school is the major beacon.

The school is also a means of upward mobility; and it serves to bridge differences in national origin, religion, race and class. It is, in short, democracy's great equalizer. In a population not far removed from immigrant backgrounds, the school is the route to a new national identity, classically in conflict with the person's family of origin. Put another way, in a society irreverent towards old traditions, the school is a developing new tradition. The attenuation of familial relationships, the shrinking of the family's scope of activity and control, enlarges the affective potential of the teaching function and the resultant emotional patterns demand the closest scrutiny. The dominating part played by the schools in the instrumental-affective-cognitive growth of the person relative to the dimunition of appropriate stimuli from other social agencies is an historically unprecedented phenomenon. Therefore, the responsibilities which have been thrust upon the school as an institution and schooling as a process, require our most painstaking and imaginative attention.

It follows that we are obliged to investigate the school as a fully functioning social system. Thus far there have been no such studies. One can only ascribe this deficiency to the dimensions of the undertaking. Although the public schools have been taken for granted in our society for at least a century, the increasing centrality of their roles is a revolutionary development. But it is a quiet revolution, embracing the very scholars who are most qualified to diagnose it. It is, of course, notoriously difficult to objectify and delineate the behavioral boundaries of phenomena with which one is intimately associated. Furthermore, the combined sociological, anthropological, psychological research and field techniques necessary for the study of a modern social institution with a local focus, but national in scope, are only now reaching the appropriate level of refinement. The school is a local community, but it is also a national institution. It is responsible for the transmission, and to an increasing degree, the creation of our cultural inheritance. Therefore, it is often an arena for conflicting interest groups. A comprehensive series of studies of the school as a social system would reveal our society in cross-section. The political and economic contexts in which schools function, the pressures to which they are subject; cooperation, conflict and continuity between the school and family systems, the affiliations among schools, and related areas of inquiry, are indices to our society in general.

The school is also an internal system, generating its own culture. It has, for example, a certain physical structure or layout, which may be termined the "plant" or "habitation". The architecture of the school is not only a sign of its functions, but symbolizes our assumptions about the relationships and character of those functions. The internal social system of the school is complex. Administrators, teachers, teachers-in-training, students, and custodial personnel inter-act in harmony and conflict. Each level of the system has its own sub-culture, both overt and covert. Overtly, students discharge a series of public, formal roles, but covertly, the student population cultivates in-group attitudes, further refined by division into cliques. Cliques are in turn defined by subtly varying standards of conduct. Although we have developed a sense of the complexity of such internal systems through studies of mental hospitals, and related institutions, field research in the school should prove more enlightening and generally applicable. The distinctions between the status and the colloquial personalities of the representatives of each level of the system, the breach between the ideal functions and actual achievements of the school, and the varying perspectives on the schools and schooling expressed by its citizenry should lead us to question many of our assumptions, while providing concrete information on hitherto unexplored areas.

But the school is more than an ensemble of roles and statuses, real and assumed functions, and formal and informal behaviors. In any given school, there is likely to be a discernible and highly individual atmosphere. That is, the internal climate of the school as generated, perhaps, by a few seminal personalities and by standards of behavior and achievement beyond legal requirements, determining its "reputation," may be a significant factor in the educational process, a factor that is as hard to document as it is to ignore. Put another way, schools as more or less standardized social systems may vary, nevertheless, in "cultural patterning," the uniqueness of a particular school being an index to the potential and flexibility of the normative structure. Here the critical acumen of the cultural anthropologists can help illuminate the limits of our educational system, and the assumptions on which it is based.

The school, then, is the agency for the transmission of culture, a self contained yet universally linked social system; and it is, also, molded, to a degree, by specific environments. Despite the schools' ideal function of taking the edge off ethnic, class, and religious distinctions, sectarian influences maintain their force in several areas. Ghetto schools, church affiliated and other private schools require study so that we may understand the effects, positive or negative, of such special cultural contexts of the educational process.

The points of crisis mentioned above are clear enough. Schools are no longer effectively operating as major transmitters and interpreters of the underlying social ideals of American culture, this being particularly true in many urban core areas. Indeed, the crisis in education is in significant part the result, not only of the disparity between the real and the ideal in American culture, but also flows from a confusion concerning the character of our social goals. We mention only the certification purposes so heavily emphasized in middle-class schools and the "tooling-up" or "fitting in" aims of many institutions in depressed areas. Implied here is the whole problem of the part played by the school in the dynamics of social change. Characteristically, that is, throughout the history of civilization, schools have reflected the established order. But in a society such as ours, with its presumed reliance on mass education on the one hand, and its notion of progressive change on the other, the function of the school as a selective agent for democratic change demands reexamination. It is hardly necessary to point out that the student rebellions that have occurred throughout the country on both political and cultural levels represent only a fraction of the more widespread, if unfocused, feelings of disaffection. It is our view that the locale of this disaffection (that is to say, the schools themselves), and the antipathy towards the "impersonality" of the educational environment are symptomatic of the problems of social change symbolized in the structure and function of schools on all levels in our society.

It also bears note that the active rebellion against the school environment (read general social environment), seems to be largely of middle class origin, while the passive rebellion manifested in "dropping out," refusal to learn, seems to be largely a lower class or underprivileged manifestation. Naturally these forms of protest tend also to overlap.

The general point is that the schools, being the most ubiquitous and increasingly formative institutions in our society, reflect with great precision the troubles that confront us all.

Related critical functions of schools include: the school as an authority system supported (and to a certain extent, representing) the state; the school as an instrument permitting upward mobility as well as a bridge between peoples of different backgrounds; and the school as an internal system generating its own culture.

The major objectives of the Culture of Schools Program, then, were conceived in terms of research development calculated to deepen both the questions and answers of the sort illustrated above. Five major areas of inquiry were consequently generated:

1. To appraise the state of knowledge and the research which has been done on mass education as a cultural phenomenon
2. To generate concepts and theoretical frames of reference for developing specific research proposals
3. To block out areas of inquiry as guides for future full scale research by competent, and concerned, anthropologists, sociologists and other behavioral scientists
4. To achieve the foregoing by cultivating a nucleus of such research scholars through a series of seminars, resulting in a final report setting forth in behavioral science concepts, the framework of prospective studies of the school as a cultural phenomenon
5. To conduct a survey of the domestic literature on the pertinent problems of schools and schooling, supplemented by a survey of foreign literature.

3

The Cross-Cultural Approach

Thus far we referred basically to research within various cultural segments of our own society. As noted, however, several projects stimulated by the Culture of Schools Program are in cross-cultural context. One reason for this is clear; namely, that educational experimentation underway in areas such as Denmark or Israel could have a direct application in our own society. The other reason is somewhat more subtle. Education research and demonstration in the so-called emerging areas of non-Western culture can, on the one hand, illuminate the character of the learning process without reference to formal educational establishments and, on the other, can lead to experimentation with new educational modes, utilizing certain traditional contexts, which are hardly possible in the more advanced, so to speak, institutionally committed Western societies. Naturally, the potential concrete value of such an undertaking, as outlined below, to the peoples concerned should not be underestimated; nor should we ignore the possibility of re-application in our own society.

An example of a hypothetical cross-cultural research development program of the latter type follows:

Hypothetical Cross-Cultural Research Demonstration Proposal

This project is divided into theoretical and instrumental (or demonstration) components; complementary teams located in the field (East Africa) and at the University center in the United States, will be organized to engage in both pure and applied research aspects.

The proposed ten year undertaking will, on the *theoretical* level, examine the contrast between socialization and technical education. The *operational* aspect will consist in the effort to teach East African villagers (*in situ*) reading, writing, and lower to middle level technical skills in the native vernaculars or regional *lingua franca*. The significance and relationship of these twin tasks will be considered in greater detail below.

1. The Theoretical Approach

The *first consideration* is to explore the nature of learning within the socialization process. Socialization is here defined as a process by which the individual develops, through a bio-culturally defined life cycle, into a functioning member of a given society. In all *primitive* and the majority of *peasant* societies, socialization incorporates the learning of requisite skills, enabling the individual to cope with the social and natural environment, in the absence of formal educational institutions. In such *native* societies, socialization is accomplished within a broadly ramifying network of personal (kinship) associations, Therefore, we shall follow the emphasis in the anthropological and psychiatric literature and use the terms *socialization* to refer to learning within *primary* and/or face to face personal groups, such as nuclear families, extended families, family surrogates or sodalities patterned after the image of kin units. The average primitive person socialized within such a network learns a wide spectrum of skills; he may be simultaneously hunter, fisherman, cultivator of the soil, manufacturer of tools and weapons, singer, dancer, close observer of nature, musician, teller of tales and participant in a variety of ceremonies. Moreover, he matures along the "road of life and death" from one status to another by means of rituals, which maintain his identity while shifting his roles. As an ordinary human being, he is, then, both celebrated and deeply educated. In the absence of specialized teachers or schools, and without being literate, he learns a more complex series of behaviors and participates more fully in his culture, relative to its level of science and technology, than is customarily the case in contemporary civilization. Moreover, there are no failures, in the sense that no one "flunks out" of this primary learning structure. Although each person performs better in certain skills as opposed to others in his total repertoire, and correlatively, some people are superior to others in particular activities, the over-all level of competence is high. This is a remarkable circumstance, and one which has not been subject to sophisticated investigation. That is, we have not analyzed, in detail, and with specific attention to the problem, the actual learning process within the primitive life cycle. It would seem, however, that a creative union of cognitive, affective, and instrumental factors is maintained; there is relatively little splitting off or isolation of the conceptual life from the emotional life, nor or either of these modes of being from the life of action. Learning is by doing and doing by learning within a concretely rewarding social system, and in a culture saturated with sacred meaning.

The second consideration is that the universal existence of schools and other specialized institutions of learning in the technologically developed world render it relatively difficult to measure the effectiveness of these structures in the transfer of relevant skills and behavioral patterns. However, in a number of surviving, but relatively less "developed" societies characterized by traditional, indigenous sociocultural systems, the transfer of knowledge, norms and skills does not occur in our systematic, and particularistic fashion. They are, rather, as indicated, learned as an integrated aspect of the socialization system. Therefore, the profound and rapid changes in such societies involves them in, and perhaps necessitates, a revolutionary transformation from what we designate "integral" learning to learning in a technical and specialized matrix.

It follows that an examination of the learning process in selected East African areas will provide us with a rare opportunity to analyze and measure the effectiveness of the traditional educational procedures. The selection of both baseline and transitional villages will give us the opportunity to illuminate the relationship between institutional education and traditional socialization on a high level of abstraction, but with concrete reference points.

The third consideration is that given the increasing specialization of the means of education (technical education), in the United States, and in similarly developed societies, it is obvious that basic studies of the relationship of socialization, specialized education, and the ordinary psychopathology of everyday life require continuous and ever-deepening examination on all disciplinary fronts. That is to say, the division between the cognitive, affective and instrumental factors in the growth and behavior of the person may be a primary source of contemporary psychopathology. The segregation of these human functions from each other is, itself, a function of the shrinking circumference of direct personal ties both within and between the generations in our society. Correlatively, as the area of socialization diminishes, the area devoted to increasingly specialized education of an impersonal character increases. We may, therefore, be nurturing a fundamental paradox, namely, that inadequately socialized persons are and will be drafted by modern society for increasing narrow and technical training. This is not merely a split between the so-called "two cultures," but represents a fundamental division at the very heart of our society involving all of us - parents and children, teachers and pupils, workers and managers, scientists and artists, engineers and housewives.

Given the near impossibility of controlled experiments in a developed society on these matters, an opportunity to undertake research in developing societies promises to illuminate these problems which are, at the moment, primarily domestic in nature, but international in their immediate potential.

In summary, then, this research proposal is directed towards long-range evaluation and measurement of the relative significance of affective, cognitive and instrumental factors in the growth of the person in a modern learning context. This, of course, implies radical shifts in the modern institutional educational arrangement and it is the character of these potential alterations that are to be thrown into cross-cultural relief by investigating baseline and transitional native societies in East Africa.

2. Method and Application

The project requires the participation of a group of research teams (each composed of three senior scholars with supporting graduate assistants) operating in selected villages in East Africa; they will: 1. explore the traditional patterns of learning and socialization; 2. experiment with mobile learning units fitted out with appropriate devices and materials to test various approaches to the transfer of technical knowledge, beginning with literacy. A major testing and program development team at University will backstop these efforts. It should be re-emphasized that the many, subtly graded levels of education and social development in the various regions of East Africa make it possible to establish a variety of controls necessary for determining accurately the effect of different combinations of variables.

Although the project is conceived essentially to examine the actual and theoretical connection between socialization and education at a high level of generalization, with a view toward seeking to reintegrate the learning process as an aspect of socialization, it will generate an operational spinoff which is significant in itself. That is, the proposed project provides a unique opportunity effectively to inter-relate theoretical and instrumental research.

The project requires experimentation in design and application of programmed or phased learning in literacy, progressing to lower and middle level technological skills in a village environment. Rather than bringing the people to newly introduced technological installations, including schools, with their socially traumatic effects, our proposal is to bring the educational technology to the people. Moreover, the local language will be used either directly, or as the medium language, insofar as that is possible. The possibility of maintaining and broadening cultural diversity in the face of "uniformizing" technological development, a possibility here implied is, of course,a matter of the greatest importance. The project plans to explore and test the limits of these cultural possibilities in strategically located East African areas, with the cooperation of (indigenous) national and local government agencies.

Programmed learning techniques in the form of manuals designed after considerable experimentation and pretesting at University, or by its contractual agents, are to be utilized in specially designed mobile units which are to be deployed, along with the research teams noted above, in a number of selected villages. It is important to note here that the tentative research design calls for the participation of specially trained native teachers and that circumstance, along with the development of materials in the vernacular will help maintain a significant connection between technical education and socialization. In short, the mobile units are designed as an experiment to sustain (in baseline villages) and reunite (in transitional villages), the cognitive, affective, and instrumental components in education at a relatively high level in a non-institutional context, to liguistically, socially and culturally representative villages in East Africa. At the same time, a significant number of Africans will become real and immediate beneficiaries of the pilot undertaking.

6

Abstract of Culture of Schools Continuation Proposal
Submitted by the
American Anthropological Association

Title: Research Center in Anthropology and Education

Principal Investigator: Charles Frantz, Executive Secretary

Contractor: American Anthropological Association

Duration of Activity: September 1, 1967 through October 31, 1969

This proposal seeks to begin a number of crucial activities coincident with the creation of a Center for Anthropology and Education. The Center will strive to stimulate and coordinate research on problems related to schools, education, and the transmission of knowledge, values, and skills. As a non-profit professional organization, the Association will guide the activities of the Center through a Steering Committee and the Executive Board. Working cooperatively with individuals, institutions, and other organizations, the Center will encourage the implementation of a discipline-wide, nationally and internationally oriented, program of research and research-related activities.

Historically, Anthropology has focussed on non-Western peoples, but as this had but a limited logical basis the amount of research done on Euro-American societies during the last 20 years has increased rapidly. Compared with some

Program was held in Washington, D.C., to expose the general problems of mass education and their relevance to anthropology.

(j) The continuation aspects of the Culture of Schools Program were transferred to the American Anthropological Association which, in turn, submitted a proposal now under consideration by the Office of Education.

5

Concluding Suggestions

It was concluded that the relative success of the Program in stimulating research obviated the need for establishing yet another center for educational research, more explicitly, a center for research on the dynamics of mass education, culturally and cross-culturally. That is to say, the projects resulting from the program's efforts were of sufficient scope so that, in their collectivity, they represented the pilot phase of such a center. The extra administrative expenses, the bureaucratic apparatus necessary to set up a single center of such dimensions seemed to us both extravagant and potentially constricting of the work it would be sanctioned to undertake.

We therefore suggest that no such single focused center be set up for substantive research, but that individual scholars be stimulated in the future as they have been during the past year and a half.

Continuation of the Culture of Schools Program was conceived as a research stimulation and liaison effort, that is to say, the circulation of information concerning research already undertaken by anthropologists and scholars in allied disciplines should be made available through a liaison office which would organize seminars and meetings of various kinds, linking both theoretical and applied aspects of research in education. At the same time, stimulation of further research should be handled by the agency involved.

As is evident above, we decided after a series of discussions with representatives of the American Anthropological Association, that the Association itself should be the stimulation and liaison instrument. It was felt that this would help direct anthropologists with greater felicity to the possibilities and sources of research in education, while using the Association's resources to broadcast the need for such work.

Another reason for encouraging the Association to undertake continuation was to make such research attractive to the great numbers of young anthropologists now being trained. This can only be done if the permanence of research development and demonstration needs, both culturally and cross-culturally, are made obvious to developing professionals. Research in education by anthropologists and persons in allied disciplines must not be allowed to dissipate itself as a fashion. Unfortunately, research in mental health has begun to take on the aspect of being a mere fashion, in part because the basic relevance of such work to anthropology did not infiltrate the profession at large in any systematic way. This is not a plea for the bureaucratization of research, but rather for the opposite; namely, that educational research not be absorbed by large, already established institutions to which the behavioral scientists from other disciplines become a mere appendage, but that the profession itself assume the responsibility for helping its practitioners break new ground.

There is one final suggestion concerning research approaches that we should like to re-emphasize, i.e., the proliferation of research seminars, preferably in graduate departments around the country, at universities which indicate the appropriate seriousness and initiative. This is a relatively inexpensive and comprehensive means of opening the whole problem of education to behavioral scientists and their students on a national basis. Twenty such seminars, costing, let us say, $200,000 in toto per year, ($10,000 per seminar) offers returns that no comparable sum focused on a single subject could be expected to achieve. The ratio of such seminars to our stimulated projects was one-quarter. In our judgment, that percentage should, in future, be raised to at least one-half of all contracts and/or grants awarded by the Bureau of Education to anthropologists and those in allied disciplines.

6

Abstract of Culture of Schools Continuation Proposal
Submitted by the
American Anthropological Association

Title: Research Center in Anthropology and Education

Principal Investigator: Charles Franz, Executive Secretary

Contractor: American Anthropological Association

Duration of Activity: September 1, 1967 through October 31, 1969

This proposal seeks to begin a number of crucial activities coincident with the creation of a Center for Anthropology and Education. The Center will strive to stimulate and coordinate research on problems related to schools, education, and the transmission of knowledge, values, and skills. As a non-profit professional organization, the Association will guide the activities of the Center through a Steering Committee and the Executive Board. Working cooperatively with individuals, institutions, and other organizations, the Center will encourage the implementation of a discipline-wide, nationally and internationally oriented, program of research and research-related activities.

Historically, Anthropology has focussed on non-Western peoples, but as this had but a limited logical basis the amount of research done on Euro-American societies during the last 20 years has increased rapidly. Compared with some social sciences, Anthropology has embarked on relatively little educational research, although a noticeable trend to do so has become evident.

This proposal calls for the funding of selected activities during a 26-month period. Under the direction of a professional anthropologist, a major conference will be held on Anthropology and Education, with the proceedings to be published. Efforts will be made through travel, correspondence, attendance at meetings, and the organization of regional conferences, to stimulate an increased amount of research. Research opportunities will be discovered, developed, and disseminated, as will other information by means of a newsletter, seminars, and conferences. Assistance will be given persons in drafting and submitting independent or cooperative research proposals. And liaison will be provided between anthropologists and the Office of Education, regional educational laboratories, ERIC clearinghouses, and research and development centers.

These activities will hasten the involvement of anthropologists in the formative institution in this and other countries. They will aid members of the profession to share with others their comparative and cross-culturally based concepts and knowledge. They will include the transmission to, and receipt from the Office of Education of findings and problems worthy of investigation. For the wider understanding of the processes of cultural transmission, stability and change, and the effects of value systems, administrative structures, and biological and ecological factors upon the forms and functions of education.

The Proposal

Education is the cultural process by which all societies are able to continue, whether in traditional and relatively unchanging ways, or with such rapid innovations that one is breathless trying to ask fundamental questions about whether all these efforts are sufficiently integrated, and whether educational systems and policies are achieving whatever goals have been postulated and procedures introduced.

In our society, schools stand out as the chief units or institutions responsible for the transmission, conservation, and extension of culture. Beginning many decades ago in the USA, and now spreading and sought like wild-fire around the world, the extension of schooling to all social classes, and to virtually all age groups and both sexes, has been an outstanding feature of social and cultural development everywhere. Unlike our ancestral communities, or those still found in much of the peasant world, the importance of family groups is decreasing for the transmission of values, knowledge, and skills, and the exercise of authority over its members' time and motivation has drastically declined. Formal educational systems have in large measure replaced the critical importance of kin groups. Yet, as social systems, schools and other educational-learning groups have been little studied in comparison with family and other kin groups. To understand the processes and structures through which cultures are transmitted, an expansion of research is needed; but this must be done cross-culturally: by comparing systems we have in this country - with their goals, core values, and procedures - with those in other lands which may be quite dissimilar in character.

Where is the variety best studied? Internally, we are a country of mixed peoples with mixed cultures, and within our boundaries we have significant regional and social class subcultures. We also have numerous non-European societies in our midst, especially American Indian groups who still maintain their autonomy and distinctiveness despite a century or two of heavy pressures from the dominant groups, and despite continuing invasion or restructuring of their educational systems by state and national educational agencies.

We come to the heart of anthropology when we are concerned with different societies and sub-societies, and their cultures, throughout the world. Anthropology is a loose and perhaps overly comprehensive discipline, but of all the social and behavioral sciences, it has always been committed to empirical studies "in the field." Ways of life furthermore are viewed holistically--questions are asked about the interrelations among institutions, about the degree of institutional strength, integration and variation, and understanding is always sought with a comparative context.

While many early anthropologists ignored European and

American ("Western") peoples, this has been greatly modified during the past three decades. Although the bulk of anthropological research has been in foreign nations, our literature has been enriched by such contributions as studies of "Street Corner Society," Gang culture, midwestern communities like PLAINVILLE and MIDDLETOWN, several volumes on YANKEE CITY in Massachusetts, studies of the DEEP SOUTH and HOLLYWOOD, a SMALL TOWN IN MASS SOCIETY, and of course numerous American Indian communities both on and off reserved lands. (See Appendix.)

Educational research has generally been piecemeal, and frequently without the benefit of theoretical and methodological insights which budding social sciences can provide. In the USA, the early uses of proto-behavioral and social sciences came basically through Educational Psychology, with later modification from various psychodynamic systems. In the last couple decades, however, a socio-cultural foundation to education has become more widespread. Anthropology and Sociology are increasingly being used in the study of educational systems, in the training of teachers, and in curricular reforms generally.

Thus far, however, those educators who have borrowed from the social and behavioral sciences have been given little reciprocity by the professional or disciplinary associations in the social sciences. The reasons for this are curious, and certainly complex. To some degree, therefore, this proposal hopes to assist in rectifying some of these shortcomings by utilizing anthropological skills and knowledge in the pervasive attempt to understand and to improve upon the educational process. If successful, this will result in research useful not only to the profession and to the educational establishment, but also to the public in general, both at home and abroad.

In the last few years, especially at Stanford University and in New York City, anthropologists have become increasingly involved in studying education, schools, socialization, and enculturation. A significant and growing portion of the pioneer work of such anthropologists as Margaret Mead and Ralph Linton, the post-World War II period has seen outstanding research on education undertaken by such persons as Gordon MacGregor, John and Beatrice Whiting, Jules Henry, Allison Davis, George and Louise Spindler, Oscar Lewis, and Yehudi Cohen. Several conferences have been held, new course development projects have been implemented, and an increasing number of anthropologists have been directly integrated into teaching training programs and institutions.

Quite outside the human arena, a fascinating range of behavioral studies among the higher primates has been launched in the last decade, and thereby the insights of physical anthropologists, ethnologists, zoologists, and experimental psychologists are becoming available and stimulating new theoretical developments. Much of their value has derived from the empirical field settings in which these studies have been made. For many years schools have emphasized various organic topics as diet, sanitation, and tooth care; now, with combined bio-cultural viewpoints, the present generation will receive greater information on the "new problems" of understanding human sexuality, the effects of drugs, the prevalence of generational conflicts within families and schools, the symbolic meaning of clothes, the question of territoriality and property ownership (especially cars for many young Americans), the patterning of ritualized play activities (including end-of-year picnics, school class "binges," and drinking parties), and the uses of phatic or emotive communication systems--to say nothing of dialectical variation in diverse settings such as the home, the classroom, and the latrine.

The partly-realized, but great, potential of the anthropological study of educational systems lies mainly, therefore, in its holistic and comparative approach--paying attention not only to social class factors, ethnicity and religiosity, differences between open and closed schools and so on, but also in looking at what culture-transmitting groups or associations do elsewhere in the world. At the same time, anthropology remains cognizant of man the animal, and seeks to understand with the benefit of biologically based or derived facts and theories.

Stanley Diamond, of the New School for Social Research, has been a chief sparkplug in stimulating wide interest and applications from anthropologists for the study of the "culture of schools." Several anthropologists and sociologists have initiated research, conferences have been held, a bibliography has been compiled, and a book and conference proceedings have been published. Diamond's desire to turn the research in Africa is drawing him away from this program, yet the dynamics he set into motion can well be carried on and expanded.

The American Anthropological Association during the past few years has become interested in a number of problems relating to education. Some of these have already been mentioned: studies of sub-cultures, socialization, the "culture of poverty," personality formation, animal behavior, and so on. The AAA has also contracted with the National Science Foundation to develop new curriculum materials for secondary schools. This Project, to continue at least through 1968, is now producing a wide range of classroom material on early history, human biology, cultural ecology, the nature of diverse cultures and societies, and the major great transformations in human prehistory and early history. Numerous books, films, slides, and artifacts are being developed in a coordinated series of substantive teaching units.

Another interest among anthropologists is to recover data about social systems and languages of people whose cultures are disappearing, so to speak, through radical acculturation or culture change. One scheme is afoot to involve teachers around the world in the collection of data about their own peoples, their values, and educational systems. The study of traditional, modified, and new systems of transmitting culture may provide an immense reservoir of data that can with analysis suggest highly valuable guidelines to our own changing institutions.

In 1966, the Executive Board of the AAA gave top priority to the establishment of a program of Center on Anthropology and Education. To be embraced within its scope of activities will be the study of schools as social systems; the development of new curricula (at elementary junior college, and college levels as well as the current work at the secondary level); the uses of anthropology in teacher preparation; scheduling conferences with teachers, administrators, anthropologists, and other social or behavioral scientists; publishing bibliographies and a magazine or newsletter on the new research material; sponsoring seminars and sessions at regional and national scholarly meetings; studying the utilization of part-time teachers; laying plans for studying the impact of modern technology upon the teaching of substantive material; researching the "drop-out" problem; and thinking about the qualities necessary for an effective educational program for persons who face, or are in, retirement. Some of these activities can be carried out year-round; others might be the foci of summer institutes or workshops, while still others can be held on a short-term basis during the academic year.

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The AAA is automatically at the center of anthropological activities in the United States. Therefore, it is able to promote research on education by virtue of its autonomy and non-dependence upon any particular university or institutional budget. The Association is able then to stimulate research among up to 2500 professionals without incurring the danger of censure for localism or parochialism. Its independent and national scope should enable it to cooperate with educational systems and associations of various states, counties, regions, and the nation without succumbing to any temptation to elevate local problems or activities to become the norm or standard. It can encourage departments and colleges to expand their research concerns with educations and cultural transmission without having any fear that it, the Association, is sacrificing something belonging to it alone. The AAA naturally will seek to stimulate external research, too, since anthropologists agree that the comparative, cross-cultural perspective is mandatory if the strengths and weaknesses of educational systems are to be fully understood.

The Association now has a section of "Teaching Anthropology" in its regular publication, the FELLOW NEWSLETTER. With an expansion of this section, or the inauguration of a new newsletter, research opportunities and results could be quickly disseminated. If the latter course of action were taken, a special appeal to non-anthropologists could usefully be programmed. Another current medium of dissemination for news of education and anthropology is the newsletter of the Secondary Curriculum Study Project. Research data are also shared through the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, issued six times annually, and in regional and national meetings.

An increasing number of anthropologists have acted as consultants to various educational institutions, private research firms, and commercial printing houses, the more so since anthropologically related classroom material is being used with an expanding rapidity and success.

The opportunity therefore is very ripe for the Association to embark on a series of new ventures which aim to invoke the comparative data of peoples of the world to help understand and improve educational systems everywhere. By taking the step to establish a Center for Anthropology and Education, the AAA is hoping to begin the first of a series of significant activities which may lead to significant changes in practice and increases in techniques and theoretical understandings.

One of the major handicaps the Association has faced has been insufficient funds to finance such an undertaking. For several years the AAA has been unable to meet satisfactorily the great demands upon it for demonstrating the contribution of anthropologists and anthropological insights to contemporary life, both in this country and abroad. As an organization supported primarily by membership dues, the expansion into these new areas of activity necessitates the solicitation of contracts from outside agencies.

This proposal to develop a Center for Anthropology and Education, then, is broad and suggestive of the large range of eminently worthwhile research and research-related activities that eventually can become operational under the aegis of the Association. Ultimately, the goal is of course to stimulate numerous individuals--not only anthropologists--to bring their critical faculties to bear upon some of the major and continuing problems facing all societies: the continuous adaption of their educational systems to meet the unending challenges of social and cultural change.

Major Functions of the Center

The Center for Anthropology and Education will begin modestly, seeking to provide continuity with the previous efforts and changing facets of the Culture of Schools Program and various research and training endeavors now engaging anthropologists in many locations. This proposal is specifically aimed to obtain support for starting or carrying on the following activities:

1. Providing liaison among the principal investigators (already funded by the Office of Education) in the Culture of Schools Program.

2. Stimulating research by anthropologists and others who are now unaware of the Office of Education's increased interest in supporting such studies; also, helping such persons prepare proposals, i.e., translating research ideas into

research programs. This may be especially rewarding in the liberal arts colleges, where social scientists often can undertake little research because of the lack of equipment, a cadre of graduate students, etc., which facilitate large-scale research. Information about the Small Grants Program could then be provided them, and assistance given for independent or collaborative projects. Many varieties of schools exist all over the country, to say nothing of foreign lands; the opportunities, and often the motivations, to study these as functioning social systems, frequently depends upon local knowledge and experience.

3. Stimulating research on new problem areas, such as different types of schools (coeducational or monosexual; military; elitist and poverty-stricken; private day and boarding schools; those supported by different religious organizations, etc.).

4. Encouraging research in unstudied educational systems, mostly abroad. Numerous worthwhile projects could be framed to compare vocational training systems (whether formal or informal, though paying attention to this) in various societies: e.g., learning how to be fishermen; hunters; home builders; clerks; medical practitioners; repositors of sacred myth and knowledge; midwives; etc.

5. Continuing a program of assembling and appraising knowledge about schools, educational systems, methods of transmitting culture, etc., through bibliographies, conferences,

and liaison with other professional disciplinary associations, including educational ones.

6. Providing liaison for anthropologists and others with the U.S. Office of Education, both for research proposals to be made independently and to provide a better articulation between such persons and the Office of Education's various programs and demonstrations.

7. Stimulating Research Seminars in Anthropology and Education on various college and university campuses.

8. Holding a major conference in Fiscal Year 1968 to assess the present status and interest of anthropology in relation to education. This would be an indispensable necessity not only to define the parameters of anthropological competence and knowledge, but would also provide guidelines and priorities for projects to be developed by the American Anthropological Association, by individuals researching independently, by departments or institutes, and by regional groups or associations, both disciplinary and interdisciplinary.

9. Stimulating the creation of workshops and institutes (summer and otherwise) for teachers, administrators, anthropologists, and social and behavioral scientists. The topics, issues, and programs around which these could be built are almost limitless. Some of them should definitely be experimental, e.g., involve travel and stimulated situations of "culture shock."

10. Developing a register or roster of anthropologists

who now do or wish to consult with school systems and other organizations about educational research programs and the production and dissemination of classroom materials. As the Office of Education's expanded support to new national and regional programs has come, the number of requests for consultation being received by anthropologists has increased markedly.

11. Contributing to a more adequate array of conceptual frameworks and theories of education, schools, youth organizations, and so on by means of participant observation studies, both sub-culturally and cross-culturally.

Procedures

Phase I. September 1, 1967 through June 30, 1968

The Center will be developed by staff in the Executive Office of the American Anthropological Association with guidance from an Advisory or Steering Committee to be established by the AAA. Advice would be sought from the Office of Education, and from anthropologists and others who have been involved in the study of schools and educational problems. The chief initial task of the Center staff would be to become quickly acquainted with relevant past and present research programs, and then to set into motion a series of new activities. In the main, these would probably include the following during Phase I:

1. Holding a national conference (a follow-up of one being held in May, 1967) during Fall or Winter, 1967-68, to

undertake a major examination of where we are, where we can go, and what opportunities exist for basic and applied research. This would bring major anthropologists and non-anthropologists together for a few days to discuss fully the most appropriate and essential kinds of research and activity programs that should be developed in the immediate future.

2. Corresponding and traveling around the USA to meet with anthropologists being funded currently by the Culture of Schools Program, or otherwise doing research on educational problems.

3. Stimulating new research proposals for submission to the Office of Education or other appropriate agencies.

4. Conferring with other colleagues in the social and behavioral sciences; becoming better acquainted with Office of Education programs and policies; visiting OE regional educational laboratories, ERIC clearinghouses, and research and development centers; and of course making a general acquaintance with public and private agencies in Washington, D.C., concerned with education, science, and the humanities.

5. Publishing and disseminating information about conferences, bibliographic materials, information on research opportunities, and other activities having already occurred or being scheduled.

6. Organizing sessions of papers reporting on research results to present at national and regional meetings of anthropological and other scholarly societies.

7. Developing a register of anthropologists either active or interested in undertaking research on education; and doing the same for those now serving, or wishing to serve, as consultants or advisors to educational establishments at all levels and in all parts of the country and abroad.

The above responsibilities would be assumed part-time by the Executive Secretary, plus a Conference Director, until another full-time anthropologist could be employed by the Association. Given the difficulties of recruiting a satisfactory person to fill the new, important role during the Summer or Autumn, this probably would mean an unwelcome delay until February 1968, as the first academic semester ended, before the new person became active. But in addition, because of the need to generate activity quickly (and later because the new anthropologist would travel considerably), it would be necessary to employ a high calibre Administrative Assistant. She or he would not only do secretarial duties, but would have to assume responsibility for various organizational and supervisory tasks as well.

Phase II. July 1, 1968 through October 31, 1969

Most of the activities begun in Phase I would be continued, but at a higher level of efficiency and comprehensiveness. In addition, the following new activities appear advisable to inaugurate during Phase II:

1. Generating new proposals for substantively different

areas of research than undertaken during Phase I.

2. Expand the amount of research to be undertaken outside the United States, paying attention to projects which would aid the development of better frameworks for comparison. In general, this implies the stimulation of larger-scale projects, whether done by one person or institution, or cooperatively. Efforts should also be made for staff from smaller colleges to participate in projects guided by larger universities. Attention could be given to the development of in-field training programs for conducting educational research from the viewpoint of anthropology and other sciences.

3. Undertaking research on various traditional and experimental summer activities alleged to have considerable educational value, e.g., youth camps, work camps, institutes, internship programs, archaeological and ethnological field training schools, etc. These can be studied with an almost identical frame of reference as "normal, year-round" schools which dominate many educational systems: mechanisms for transmitting values, knowledge, and skills; groups with structured roles and statuses, some of which are specifically designed to stimulate learning; as systems of control and authority; as territory-using (and defending) behavior systems; and the like.

4. Publishing the papers and proceedings of the critical major conference held during Phase I.

5. Submitting a Final Report, paying attention to any

suggested possibilities for the further development of the Center for Anthropology and Education.

The contributions of such a diversified range of research projects can not be specified precisely, of course, for this proposal is not to lead to a body of data deriving from controlled studies which the Association would itself undertake. Quite the contrary, the merit or value of this proposal will best be seen in the extent and range of research and development that ensues from intense activity by two or three persons in the course of approximately two years. The explicit aim of the proposal is to stimulate others, to provide coordination, and to effect liaison whenever and wherever this may be useful.

In the near future, however, as research data become available and as anthropologists experience greater involvement in research and research-related activities, the refinement of theory should be at least modestly on the horizon; the value of applying findings should be more likely; and the dissemination of data should have been remarkably improved.

The proposed activities will, with success, have assisted measurably in strengthening both the profession of anthropology and the contribution of its practitioners to improved educational practices and policies in several lands.

Personnel

Phase I begins with the Executive Secretary assuming more initiative than will be necessary after another full-time anthropologist has been employed. The Secretary, Ch. Frantz, has his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago (in Anthropology, 1958). He has done research in Rhodesia, British Columbia, and South Dakota, and taught at Portland State, University of Toronto, and Howard University before taking up his present position.

The Conference Director, Fred O. Gearing, also has his degree from the University of Chicago (Ph.D., Anthropology, 1957). His research has focussed mainly on Cherokee and Sac and Fox Indians, and on Greek villages. During his career he has had both an activie concern and involvement with American Indians and their problems of education and cultural autonomy, including direction of special summer institutes for Indians enrolled in colleges. He has been a member of the Advisory Committee to the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project for several years, and likewise active on a state committee in California concerned with high school curricula in the social studies. He has taught at the University of Washington, University of Chicago, and the University of California at Riverside.

Stanley Weinstein, Consultant, has a M.A. degree from Harvard University in Business Administration. For several years he has served as a consultant to Educational Services, Inc. More recently, he has served regularly as a consultant to the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C.

It is difficult to foresee whether there may be a need for additional personnel during Phase II of the project. It is expected, however, that as growth occurs in the activities of the Center for Anthropology and Education, additional funding will be sought from multiple governmental agencies and private organizations. Thus, the activities given in this proposal will be manned, if at all possible, with the personnel listed above (and below, in the section on the Budget).

ACTIVITY SUMMARY REPORTS

1

Greyston House Conference

The purposes of the two-day conference, the first of its type convened by anthropologists, were: (1) to bring together, and mutually to introduce, anthropologists already in the field of education; (2) to uncover field research in process and give it wider exposure; (3) to draw attention to the needs for more coordination in the field; and (4) to provoke interest in further research.

Attendance was, for the most part, made up of anthropologists with special, but narrowly constrained, interest in education. As the resumes of many participants brought out, a common experience was teaching basic anthropological methods and outlooks to teachers-in-training; consequently, a keen awareness of the need to extend the scope of anthropology in education already existed.

The first part of the conference permitted participants to air, in short statements, what they felt were the research needs to be met. As Charles Griffith pointed out, much had been done in theories of child development, personality growth and other studies focusing on the individual. Critically needed, now, were school and community studies focusing on the behavior of groups and sub-cultures.

The teaching-learning process, as Solon Kimball noted, had been thoroughly investigated for its instrumental-mechanical contents. Yet school administrative procedures remained largely built in the image of factory systems or municipal departments. There was a need to discover new theories of school organization, organically linked to school-community situations.

Other suggestions for research areas included: Teacher-training institutions; comparative studies of schools within several types of communities; socialization aspects in segregated schools; conceptualization of educational goals by members of different classes within the same community; and ethnographic studies of various sorts. John Chilcott (p. 17 seq.) and Raymond Wilkie (p. 58 seq.) both offered systematic research development plans.

Zachary Gussow reminded participants that he, as just one researcher, had accumulated in 6 years, a large quantity of data and experience which still had to be systematically exploited.

Robert Hanvey noted that most educators had no realization that a culture of schools existed.

In the second part of the conference, more substantive reports were made on anthropological activities in education.

Donald Horton warned of the resistance to which the "educational world" might be expected to offer to proposals for radical changes.

Yehudi Cohen examined the cultural effects of technological developments in education.

Thomas Green noted the differences between mass schooling and mass education, and indicated the depth of the current crisis in education by remarking on the growing dysfunctional aspects of schooling to education.

Murray and Rosalie Wax illustrated the failure of schools to socialize children of minority groups by focusing on a Pine Ridge Sioux Indian school.

Eleanor Leacock discussed classroom research methodology in refined detail.

A careful reading of the edited transcripts of the conference will show the near-unanimity of participants on the need to enlarge the scope of criticism of formal education in the United States. The process of education is more delicately and intricately bound up with the life of communities than most professional educators suspect. The comparatively small amount of attention given by participants to areas of traditional criticism and reform (curriculum development, formal stages of learning, and other practical instruments of the cognitive functions of education) indicated that these specialized concerns were of secondary importance in understanding and resolving the crisis in education.

Participants at the Greystone Conference were:

Wilfred Bailey	University of Georgia
Walter E. Boek	Union Theological Seminary
Stephen Boggs	American Anthropological Association
Ina C. Brown	Scarritt College

Jacquetta Burnett	University of Illinois
John Chilcott	The University of Arizona
Yehudi Cohen	University of California at Davis
John Collier, Jr.	San Francisco State College
Malcolm Collier	American Anthropological Association
Lambros Comitas	Teachers College, Columbia University
John Connelly	San Francisco State College
Elizabeth Eddy	Hunter College of theCity of New York
Arthur Foshay	Teachers College, Columbia University
Estelle Fuchs	Hunter College of the City University of New York
Fred Gearing	University of California at Riverside
Thomas F. Green	Syracuse University
Charles Griffith	University of New Mexico
Zachery Gussow	Louisiana State University Medical Center
Robert Hanvey	American Anthropological Association
Donald Horton	Bank Street College of Education
Francis Ianni	Teachers College, Columbia University
Momoya Ise	O.E.O. Program, Syracuse
Solon Kimball	Teachers College, Columbia University
Eleanor Leacock	Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn
Rhoda Metraux	American Museum of Natural History
Theodore Parsons	Florida State University
Gerard Rosenfeld	Hofstra University
Warren A. Snyder	Sacramento State College
Robert Thomas	University of Chicago
Raymond Wilkie	University of Kentucky
Murray Wax	University of Kansas
Culture of School staff	

New School Conference

The second conference on the Culture of Schools was conceived as a more intimate colloquium, in which round-table discussions would be provoked by short, incisive and controversial papers. No "concrete" or specific research proposals were expected to result from the conference...and none did. All participants, it should be noted, were already well-known in their fields and could thus be expected to focus on the broader and more abstract aspects of the culture of schools and American culture.

Discussion fell into four general topics: a critical view of American Education; the art and science of teaching; Education and social change; and the philosophy of modern education.

With the possible exception of Frank Riesman, who confined his remarks to programmatic aspects of education for the disadvantaged, the participants discussed education in its widest social context; that is to say, the crisis in American education was intimately linked to deeper questions of societal instability. Jules Henry's contention that education should be conceived in terms of "enlightenment" was generally accepted. The more narrow instrumental goals of education were thus rejected. Paul Goodman went as far as to deny that teaching was an activity that ever took place; he preferred to cast education in terms of a learning process. No less radical a critique was Thomas Green's, who contended that the exclusive claims of Reason as being the final arbiter of knowledge had been challenged and found wanting.

Participants in the New School Conference were:

Joseph Greenbaum, New School for Social Research
Benjamin Nelson, State University of N.Y. at Stonybrook
Frank Reisman, New York University
Paul Goodman, New York City
Jules Henry, Washington University
Oscar Lewis, University of Illinois
Arthur Vidich, New School for Social Research
Christopher Jencks, Institute for Policy Studies
Thomas Green, Syracuse University
John Seeley, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
Nancy Bancroft, Union Theological Seminary
Culture of Schools staff

3

Pittsburgh Symposium

A special symposium on the Culture of Schools was held at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Pittsburgh. The symposium, which attracted a good deal of attention, was considered to be one of the special events at the conference. Discussion followed lines which have been indicated elsewhere in this report, and the growing interest of anthropologists in defining educational research was noted. Seven papers were presented; the one which deals most comprehensively with a cross-cultural problem is included in this report.

Participants in the symposium were:

Stanley Diamond, ("Introductory Remarks")

Theodore Parsons, Teachers College, Columbia University ("Anthropology and the Administration of Schools; a Structural and Analytic Approach")

Jacquetta Burnett, University of Illinois ("Ceremony, Rites and Economy in the Student System of a Rural High School")

Raymond Willkie, University of Kentucky ("A Comparison of Educational Values in Mexico and the United States")

Lambros Comitas, Columbia University ("Culture and Bolivian Education")

Jean Boek, University of Maryland, ("The Anthropologist as Observer of Planned Change in a High School")

Mark Atwood, Seton Hall ("Values and Change in a Formal Organization")

4

Washington Conference (in coordination with the American Anthropological Association)

This conference on Anthropology, Education and the Schools, held in May, 1966, considered four major areas of research: The schools as cultural instructional systems; the development of curricula in anthropology for schools; the preparation and support of teachers; and the development of anthropology and education.

The conference participants were:

Fred Gearing, University of California, Riverside
Solon Kimball, University of Florida
Malcolm Collier, Anthropology Curriculum Study Project (AAA), Chicago
Wilfred C. Bailey, University of Georgia
Yehudi Cohen, University of California, Davis
Dell Hymes, University of Pennsylvania
Murray Wax, University of Kansas
Robert Texter, Stanford University
Arthur Vidich, New School for Social Research
Robert Ehrich, Brooklyn College of City University of N.Y.
Robert Hanvey, Anthropology Curriculum Study Project (AAA), Santa Barbara
Elizabeth Eddy, State University of New York at Stony Brook
Eleanor Leacock, Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute
Robert Thomas, Tahlequah, Oklahoma
Harry Wolcott, University of Oregon
Lambros Comitas, Teachers College, Columbia University
Estelle Fuchs, Hunter College of City University of N.Y.
Vera John, Yeshiva University

Roger Owen, University of California, Santa Barbara
Ronald Corwin, U.S. Office of Education (on leave from Ohio State U.)
Ch. Frantz, AAA
Stanley Weinstein, Consultant to Center for Applied Linguistics
Theodore Parsons, Teachers College, Columbia University
The Culture of Schools staff

5

"Anthropological Perspectives on Education" - a Monograph in Preparation

As a result of research stimulation and development undertaken by the Culture of Schools Program, of the several conferences, and of the national contacts cultivated by the program, a book is now in preparation titled "Anthropological Perspectives on Education." Basic Books, of New York City, has contracted to publish the work. As the following table of contents illustrates, the papers, some of which are included in this final report, further explicate the approaches to education developed by the Culture of Schools Program in coordination with its various consultants and associates throughout the country. It should be noted, of course, that the papers are first drafts and are subject to change. They are thus appended only as examples of the general character of the book.

The table of contents includes:

1.	Stanley Diamond	Introduction: The Education of Anthropologists
	Part I CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES; GROWTH AND COMMUNICATION	
2.	Yehudi Cohen	The Imperatives of Culture and the Shaping of Men's Minds
3.	Dell Hymes	On Communicative Competence
4.	Margaret Mead	Early Childhood Experience and Later Education in Complex Cultures

5.	Daniel Schecter	The Hippies: Cultural Symptoms of Educational Failure

PART II SUB-CULTURAL PROCESSES

6.	Oscar Lewis	World Views of Puerto Rican School Children
7.	Jules Henry	Education of the Negro Child
8.	Robert K. Thomas and Albert L. Wahrhaftig	Indians, Hillbillies and the "Education Problem"
9.	Murray and Rosalie Wax	Great Tradition, Little Tradition and Formal Education

PART III SYSTEMIC PROBLEMS

10.	Ronald Corwin	The Cultural Context of Educational Research
11.	Fred Gearing	Anthropology and the Primary Grades
12.	Paul Goodman	Educational Systems: The Reality, the Need, the Utopia
13.	Benjamin Nelson	Culture in the University and the University in Culture
14.	Ben Rothblatt and Sol Tax	The University in the Community: Backgrounds and Perspectives on Higher Adult Education
15.	Francis Ianni	The Social Structure of Instruction
16.	Donald Horton	The Interplay of Forces in the Development of a Small School System
17.	Arthur Vidich	Schools as Bureaucracies
18.	Ronald Leifer	Psychiatry in the Schools
19.	Thomas Green	Citizenship or Certification?

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

GENERAL RESULTS

In order to survey the state of knowledge and research with reference to the areas of concern to the Culture of Schools Program, more than five hundred domestic and foreign journals, bulletins, and special periodicals reaching back over the first generation were examined. Part of the bibliography compiled was annotated (1000 references) and typed on programmed cards indexed by subject matter in accordance with the McBee Keysort Code described below. Unannotated books (700 references) are also divided into major categories of the card index for convenient reference. Unannotated periodical literature (2300 references including dissertation abstracts) listed below are organized by publication and year in preparation for further research. The entire bibliography consisting of some 5000 items has been placed on microfilm and deposited with the Library of Congress.

Some of the more popular and obvious books and articles in the field have been avoided because these sources are well known and readily available. Emphasis was placed on technical literature to discover what "has been done on mass education as a cultural phenomenon." Our findings are largely negative. That is to say, very little work was basically relevant in the perspective of this Project, as outlined in earlier portions of the report. There are, for example, literally thousands of studies of a sociometric and/or so-called methodological type correlating endless variables but not basically contributing to our knowledge of the structure and dynamic of modern education. We repeat that the problem of contemporary education is no less than the problem of culture, and the poverty of our understanding of education as generally revealed in our bibliographic survey poses a critical issue of the first dimension. Nonetheless, we believe that the bibliography should prove useful to students of education in the various disciplines.

Numerical Subject Code for McBee Keysort Cards

Top Edge: Classification Index

Block A: Source Type

1. Professional Journal - in English
2. Professional Journal - in Foreign Language
3. Newspaper, Magazine or other Non-professional Periodicals
4. Book - Single Author
5. Book - Multiple Authors or Collections and Anthologies
6. Typescript, Mimeograph, Dittoed
7. Dissertation or Thesis
8. Book Review
9. Monograph
10. Paper, Film
11.
12.
13.
14. Other

Block B, C. and D: Periodical Source
Numbers Range from 001 - 999

Block D: 100 Unit Numbers
Block C: 10 Unit Numbers
Block B: 1 Unit Numbers

Top Edge: Year Index
Two Fields only for 1900 - 1966
Three Fields for pre-1900 Publication Date

Block H: Century pre - 1900
Block T: Decade
Block U: Year within Decade

Right Edge: Alphabetical Index
First three letters of Senior Author's last name

Letter	Notch	Letter	Notch
A	No Punch	M	IEG
B	B	(After Mc)	
C	C	N	IECB
D	CB	O	O
E	E	P	OB
F	EB	Q	OC
G	EC	R	OCB
H	ECB	S	OE
I	I	T	OEB
J	IB	U	OI
K	IC	V	OIB
L	ICB	W	OIC
M	IE	X	OICB
(Before Mac		Y	OIE
Mac, Mc	IEB	Z	OIEB

Bottom and Left Edges: Direct Index and Numerical Index

Direct Index: Subcategories numbering one to thirty-four

Numerical Index: General categories indicated by Roman Numerals

Block H: Roman Numerals I, II, IV, and VII
Block T: Roman Numerals III, V, VI, and VIII

I. General Environment

1. Social
    2. Family
    3. Roles: Group membership and peer relations; sex relations
    4. Ethnic determinants of socialization
    5. Class and social stratification
6. Cultural
    7. Religion
    8. Philosophy
    9. World view and self conception

10. Demographic
    11. Neighborhood and Housing
    12. Community
13. Economic conditions
14. Political conditions

II. Theories and Practices of Education
16. Values
17. Attitudes
18. Philosophy and Ideals of Education
19. Specific Educational Practices: Intentions and Results

III. Structure and Organization of Education
20. Formal and Informal Organizational Relations (including Sociometric Testing)
21. Roles of Educators and Administrators
22. Functions of Schools
23. Communication and Transmission of Information
24. General Administration
25. Selection, Certification and Composition of Participants
26. Influence upon General Social Environment

IV. Social and Psychological Dynamics of the Educational Process
27. Participants' Motivations and Aspirations
28. Personality Change; Attitudes and Values
29. Ethnic and Class Conflict
30. Control and Pressures: Discipline and Planning

V. The Negro Minority and the Problems of Desegregation

VI. American Indians (North, Middle and South)

VII. Cultural and Ethnic Groups (Not in the United States)
31. Germany, Great Britain and France
32. Africa
33. China and the Soviet Union
34. Scandinavia, Latin America, North Korea, Japan, Philippines, Burma, Thailand, New Zealand, New Guinea, Admiralty Islands, Pakistan

VIII. General Works on Education (Primarily Sociology and Anthropology of Education)

(Annotated)

(224 Cards)

I. General Environment

1. Social Environment

2. Family

The family influences the child most strongly in his early years, and certain of these childhood reactions are apparent throughout his life (Erikson, 1950). The racial attitudes of a child are formulated in his pre-school years (Bettelheim, 1964). It has been found that more prejudiced and ethnocentric children have parents who are more punitive and authoritarian than less prejudiced children (Gough, Harris and Martin, 1950; Dickens and Hobart, 1959). If parents are strict disciplinarians, their children tend to assert themselves in school if they are self-confident and act independently (Hoffman, Rosen and Lippsett, 1960). The attitude of the parent toward school also effects the drop-out rate (Bertrand, 1962). The children of parents of low socio-economic status stayed in school when their parents encouraged them to continue their education and developed satisfactory socialization techniques which supported their aspirations (Mammino, 1962).

3. Roles: Group membership and peer relations; sex relations

Studies of courtship reveal that males tend to be more romantic than females (Hobart, 1958), and are more sexually aggressive as a relationship progresses (Kirkpatrick, 1957). In the choice of a mate, traditional family values are declining in favor of the companionship family (McGinnis, 1958).

Adolescents stand in a no-man's land between childhood and adult society (Grace and Lewellyn, 1959). They are not able to assume adult roles and therefore must turn to their own peer groups for status and security (Simpson and Simpson, 1958). While adolescent gang culture is not always acceptable to adults, it is generally based on adult norms (Myerhoff, 1964). This conception of adolescent years being a period of "storm and stress" and discontinuity of socialization is not accepted without criticism (Elkin and Westley, 1955; Westley and Elkin, 1957).

4. Ethnic Determinants of Socialization

While racial identity defines a category of people, the problem in the socialization of any minority is to relate education meaningfully to their cultural background. If a school is to function as a liaison between the dominant culture and a minority sub-culture it must be able to show minority children how school could help them realize their aspirations (Plant, 1955; Deutsch, 1960). Negro youth have the same educational and occupational goals as the majority (Gist and Bennet, 1963), but they become increasingly alienated as they realize their limited means of attaining their goals. The Negro youth is hindered from complete absorption into American society by his race, but the immigrant child is able to acculturate and blend with the American milieu provided his parents sanction and encourage change even though they may not change themselves (Wider, 1962).

5. Class and Social Stratification

The school is an institution which represents middle class values (Burton, 1953; Loeb, 1953), and teachers favor middle and upper-middle class youth (Hoehn, 1954; Wiemar and Murray, 1963; Hollingshead, 1949). Lower class youth were found to have middle class aspirations, but they need extra-familial assistance if they are to achieve their goals (Morland, 1960; Ellis and Lane, 1963; Weimar and Murray, 1963).

6. Cultural Environment

7. Religion

Religious education is valued because it may develop a feeling of identity and group belonging (Dushkin, 1947), but students are sometimes hostile to it if they feel that their parents do not value the religious practices they are taught (Fishman, 1954). Because of the ambivalence toward religion in America, students often view it with mixed feelings (Havens, 1964).

8. Philosophy

The cultural philosophy of an era directs the changes in educational practices which are needed to enable people to cope with the social, economic and political developments (Barnard, 1961; Keppel, 1961; Carleton, 1961). In order to define the cultural personality types in the United States, it has been suggested that the primary norms or "dominant profile" of culture be delineated, as well as the "substitute profile." The object is to determine a variability range of culture types (Kluckhohn, 1950). The trend of the American personality profile away from the traditional type seems to be in dispute (Spindler, 1955), as is the subcultural profile of the "culturally deprived" (Riesman, 1962; Hunnicutt, 1964).

9. World View and Self Conception

The adolescent straddles the adult and childhood worlds. At this time he must be confirmed in his own abilities and inclinations, yet integrated into the general society. To ease his passage, the culture should include an identity which youth can embrace and one which he may reject (Erikson, 1964).

10. Demographic Environment

11. Neighborhood and Housing

It was found that class differences are a much greater determinant of the quality of education than are regional differences (Anderson, 1947), and that housing quality can be correlated with the educational level of the family (Collison, 1960). The positive conditions of public housing as opposed to slum housing should be reflected in the improved behavior of the child (Jackson, 1955).

12. Community

The community views the school as having primary responsibility in meeting youth needs while the family plays a supporting role (Payen, 1955). Civic oriented, self-governing youth groups cannot survive unless the community supports them through local institution assistance (Grambs, 1956).

13. Economic Conditions

Improvement in economic conditions alone is not sufficient to produce an increase in achievement level. It can, in fact, be positively detrimental (Edmiston and McBain, 1945). Occupational advancement is correlated with the number of years of education (Duncan and Hodge, 1963). The desire to obtain an education is as important as the availability of funds to finance the student (Nam, 1964). The low income groups which are most in need of fine educational facilities are often the most neglected (Sexton, 1961).

Philanthropic gifts have guided the development of universities and colleges (Curti and Nash, 1965). The institutions must, however, concentrate their resources to develop research [and research demonstrations E.D.] relevant to the local environment (Kluckhohn, 1937).

14. Political Conditions

Academic freedom will exist in the United States and elsewhere only so long as the government feels secure (Joughlin, 1965; Mantizas, 1966). The government has relaxed its restriction in recent years permitting the theories of communism to be taught in the schools (Exton, 1961). Anti-war demonstrations might lead to a curtailment of academic freedom, especially in the State University of California (Kopkind, 1966).

Political power is reflected in education in another way: It was found that civic education differs in lower and upper-middle class communities. The upper-middle class was taught that politics is a means for initiating change, while the lower class was given a "passive, idealistic view of politics" (Litt, 1963). This fact is a reflection of the political powerlessness of lower socio-economic groups. In two communities of this status the people tended to vote against the school bond issue as a means of expressing their protests and political negativism (Horton and Thompson, 1962).

(Annotated)
(56 Cards)

II. Theories and Practices of Education

16. Values

Values which are based on a universal standard should be taught in American schools. That standard should have cross-cultural validity so that all children in the American milieu would have some foundation upon which they could base their lives (Kluckhohn, 1952; Brameld, 1955). The schools do not teach democracy because the children are not taught self-dependence (Benedict, 1943). There is too little freedom in the schools both for students and for teachers (Scarfe, 1956). In fact, due to the pressures placed upon social studies teachers to conform to the political ideology of the time (Hunnicutt and Grambs, 1956) it has been suggested that the subject be eliminated from the curriculum, at least for college bound students (Riesman, 1956).

17. Attitudes

There are many attitude studies, but most are concerned with students' attitudes toward community affairs or politics. The general attitude toward education is that it must be reformed providing a wider variety of educational institutions in order to capitalize on the mixture of talent and abilities. Students should be encouraged to achieve and develop themselves to the fullest extent, but poor achievers should not be punished and made to feel complete failures if they cannot meet arbitrarily imposed standards. They should be encouraged to develop whatever skills they possess (Friedenberg, 1965).

18. Philosophy and Ideals of Education

Many educators would agree with Durkheim that education is not for the perfection of man, but a means of enabling him to live in the social milieu of his age. Contained in this section are scholars opinions on what should be the approach to education in order to best fulfill the requirements of living in the modern American society. The contrasting position that education is for the perfection of man is also presented.

19. Specific Education Practices: Intentions and Results

American education is again criticized because it is felt that rote learning in schools does not prepare children to handle real life situations (Embree, 1943). A student should be permitted to drop out of school and re-enter when he pleases. He should be provided with apprenticeships in order to integrate his school training with social reality (Goodman, 1962). The necessity of coordinating book learning with practical application is illustrated in a study of the transference of teacher training to the classroom situation (Oliver, 1953). It was found that the teachers did not absorb basic educational principles and thus were not able to transfer modern techniques to the classroom.

(Annotated)
(239 Cards)

III. Structure and Organization of Education

20. Formal and Informal Organizational Relations

Administrators come in conflict with schoolboard members frequently because their roles are not clearly defined, and they often differ on policy and its implementation (Sletten, 1958; Goldhammer, 1959; Lacey, 1964; Woodington and Byrdon, 1961). Lay advisory committees to school boards which are established on a short term basis for specific purposes are commonplace, and desirable, so long as they do not become an arena for competing pressure groups. Effective lay advisory committees tend to improve communications between the superintendant and the school board, and lengthen the superintendant's tenure (Hull, 1957).

Teachers generally are unable to judge the social acceptability of their students in their peer group (Gronlund, 1950; Gronlund, 1953; Gronlund, 1955). Though it was found that good pupil-teacher rapport is highly correlated with the teacher's awareness of student structure (Bogan, 1954). Primary school students who rank high on sociometric tests tend to be academic achievers and amiable, cooperative children. (Bonney and Powell, 1953; Buswell, 1953; Thorpe, 1955). This correlation is weaker on the high school level, though there seems to be a rather critical disagreement as to whether social isolation leads to compensation through intellectual pursuits (Ryan and Davie, 1958; Marks, 1954).

Notably absent are studies pertaining to the student's perception of the teacher's feelings toward him (Davidson and Lang, 1960), and of a teacher's estimation of how he feels the students react. Research must be more dynamic and focus on how the status systems of the children develop, how the classroom social structure can be changed and how the teacher can intervene (Glidewell, 1959). The same approach is necessary in research concerning the school boards and superintendants if relations between them are to improve.

21. Roles of Educators, Administrators and Extra School Interests

By far the greatest emphasis in the literature has been on the conflicting roles of the teacher. Teachers are supposed to be stable figures who serve as models for children and at the same time they are expected to be disciplinarians, judges, administrators, coordinators, and inventors. They are also expected to live in a certain life style, yet are not paid enough to maintain that standard. They must preach upward social mobility, while their mobility is horizontal, from school to school, rather than vertical. They are supposed to teach the values of hard work and honesty, while the mass media depict these traits as passe. Their teaching should be unbiased, but they are under fire if their presentation of the facts does not corroborate local mores and the political ideology of the time. They are expected to perform their teaching duties satisfactorily, and yet have extra-curricular responsibilities which tax their energies. These conflicting demands weigh heavily on a teacher attempting to perform a task which is difficult enough in its own right (Becker, 1952; Rogers, 1953; Getzels and Guba, 1955; Gordon, 1955; Driscoll, 1956; Wilson, 1962).

22. Functions of the School

The general function of public schools is to teach students how to be members of a given society and to help them perfect their capabilities for their own benefit and that of the society. The emphasis placed on one or the other function is a matter of the philosophy of a given educator. The means of achieving these goals though, are often in dispute. One of the problems confronting the schools is how to transmit the heritage of Western civilization and yet prepare students to live in a changing world (Park, 1943).

The multi-university is considered to have grown in response to the industrial, technological, and diversified needs of our society (Kerr, 1963). It is characterized by its size, dominance of an administrative bureaucracy, government controls, and a varied course offering. Can a single large university adequately undertake full scale projects in research, teaching, and public service, or must universities specialize in one area in order to operate at maximum efficiency? (Perkins, 1966). If the university relegates teaching to a subordinate position to other functions, how will a student learn moral responsibility as well as technical skill? The universities should be reformed. Student-faculty contact should be easier, philosophy and the humanities should be intertwined with all other branches of learning, teachers should instruct students in what they really know, and students should learn what they feel they need to know (Goodman, 1962). The university should fill the vacuum left by the erosion of traditional sources of authority and guidance because faculty are pursuing the truth in the context of this changing society (Lippman, 1966).

23. Communication and Transmission of Information

Information [and we might add mis-information ED.] tends to travel most quickly in high anxiety situations (Rolins and Charters, 1965) and students tend to ignore data if it might contradict a teacher or a supervisor (Winoker, 1955; Editorial in Human Organization, 1955; Henry, 1956). The students' avoidance of conflict situations is compared to the brainwashing technique used in Korea. It created internal conflict within the prisoner and permitted him to assuage his anxiety by receiving a reward for complying with the brain washer (Winoker, 1955). A means of correcting this situation would be through an examination and discussion of a student's first hand experiences which would be as culturally wide and varied as possible.

24. General Administration

The growth of the school's bureaucratic structure is the result of the growth and diversification of school functions (McGrath, 1945), and one suggested answer to this problem is decentralization (Terrien, 1960). The main problem confronting the administration is adequate financing. To what degree do the local boards of education have autonomy in the distribution of funds, and should there be Federal support of education? Why should insecure financing necessitate a university to orient its research program toward a sponsor's interests (Bennis, 1956)?

25. Selection, Certification and Composition of Participants

For the most part, this section only presents a superficial perusal of the selection of Board of Education members, and the selection and evaluation of teacher education. There are only two annotations on university faculty: one on faculty culture (Gusfield and Riesman, 1964) and the other on institutional inbreeding (McGee, 1960).

The bright student was discussed in some detail. The general conclusion seems to be that the present means of selecting superior students are inadequate. Intelligence tests are culturally biased and do not measure many gifts and talents (Ells, 1953). Some children are late bloomers, and therefore, the selection procedures in the United States and England are harmful to these children (Vernon, 1958). Relatively little seems to be known about the superior child (Davie, 1961) and their recognition is a matter of luck (Vernon, 1958).

26. General Social Environment

Aside from supplying technicians and manpower, it seems not to be known what influence the structure and organization of education has on the outside world. It is not understood what unintended results are the by-product of the educational system, nor what social forces are changing the system itself (Floud and Halsey, 1959).

(Annotated)
(76 Cards)

IV. Social and Psychological Dynamics in the Educational Process

27. Participants Motivations and Aspirations

Teachers enter the profession because they want to contribute to general welfare, rather than due to salary considerations (Schultz and Ohlsen, 1955; Fielstra, 1955; Simpson and Simpson, 1960). Teachers hold an ambivalent position in the minds of the public because they determine to a great extent the future of an individual's child. Historically teachers have also had low prestige. Education is generally mistrusted because it is so abstract and the teacher absorbs this attitude becoming defensive about his role.(Grambs, 1952). When intra-system promotional policies prevent teachers from assuming administrative positions their job satisfaction is lowered (Kirkpatrick, 1964).

Social class is not considered a factor which determines the educational and occupational aspirations of students (Bennett and Gist, 1964). The status level of parents, however, is determinant in their desire for their children to attend college, when the factor of intelligence is controlled (Sewell, Haller and Strauss, 1957). Parental and peer group pressure is very important in determining a child's aspirations (Kahl, 1953; Bordua, 1960; Krauss, 1964). Though the leading peer group might instill a desire to attend college, it decreases the desire to achieve academically. Those outside the leading crowd who have college aspirations tend to be achievement oriented. Those who do not plan to go to college associate with groups which have a non-college orientation (McDill and Coleman, 1963).

Parents of children in a lower socio-economic class tend to have the same achievement aspirations as middle socio-economic parents, but they do not believe that their goals are attainable (Weimar and Murray, 1963). Indeed, extra-family support and direction is necessary for the attainment of college entrance (Ellis and Lane, 1963). Where there is a wide discrepancy between goals and level of achievement the feeling of anomie is very prevalent (Rhodes, 1964). This can result in an attempt to achieve middle class goals through illegal means (Clark and Wennihger, 1963).

28. Personality Change; Attitudes and Values

Education is seen as a means of inculcating in youth a point of view which would lead youth to accept the existing social order. It emphasizes change rather than growth (Mead, 1943). The society insists on inculcating conformity rather than creativity (Friedenberg, 1960). This permits the adolescent only two main paths of development: submission or rebellion to the social order.

The first group might become conservative in order to push away uncertainties once they enter college (Shiff, 1964). It seems that college tends to sharpen differences which existed before the students were in attendance (Huntley, 1965). Girls go to college either to improve their standing among their peers and improve their social skills, or to seriously pursue intellectual interests. Graduation is seen as a crises for the liberally educated girl who must either chart a future career or rush into marriage in order to avoid making decisions for which she had not been prepared (Freedman, 1956). The senior girl might regress to a less mature attitude to relieve the strain of her indirection, or place herself in a situation where she could continue to grow (Webster, 1956). Female entrance into the graduate school is considered a form of rebellion against her traditional role (Wallace, 1964). The female who takes full advantage of the intellectual opportunities of the school is likely to be an agnostic, a liberal, and is not likely to marry (Brown, 1956).

Students, like workers in any job, like to be able to express themselves and to have a share in deciding goals at some point (Ladd, 1958). Where this is not permitted, hostility evolves into negative group identity. The boredom and repression in the school prepares the rebellious youngster for the routine and uninteresting work which will occupy him most of his adult life (Webb, 1962). Students express their rebellion against the society through the formation of gangs, protest marches and the taking of drugs. They would rather take LSD and marijuana than commit themselves to the technological society which is meaningless and empty to them (Friedman, 1966; Keniston, 1965). The search for student direction and meaning is reflected in two studies of professional schools. The idealism of youth in medical school is traced from the first to last year. The medical student is disillusioned and then cynical as the medical training seems more removed and unessential for actual practice. Idealism is said to revive upon graduation, but set in a more realistic framework (Becker and Greer, 1958). The second study states that graduate students change their career preference as they progress through school toward the direction from which they receive any kind of support or help (Gottlieb, 1961). Perhaps if someone who has gone through the system takes an interest in a student, he will be able to avoid the indirection which is the bane of many graduate students.

The remaining annotations in this section deal with the changes in specific characteristics, such as authoritarianism, dogmatism and ethnocentrism. The net result of the sample on these traits is that college students or college bound students become more tolerant as they attend school (Plant, 1965; Hites, 1965; Huntley, 1965; Plant, 1966).

29. Ethnic and Class Conflict

There are practically no annotations in this section. There is only a mention of the channelling of Negro aggressions (Powdermaker, 1943), the channelling of radical ministers into education to avoid conflict within the church (Hammond and Mitchell, 1965) and the aggressive attitudes of third grade children correlated with the social status of their parents (Toigo, Romolo, 1965).

30. Control and Pressure: Discipline and Planning

There are two loci of power within the classroom. The teacher must realize that students can take retaliatory measures if the teacher does not guage his behaviour to the situation. He must know how to manipulate group power to influence the individual and conversely how to influence the individual to guide the group (Williams, 1957; Ladd, 1958). Though only New Jersey has a statute definitely forbidding corporal punishment, its use is generally not favored by psychologists and many educators (Jones, 1964). The teacher, therefore, must be able to maintain student morale and cooperation through other means.

The local community should have a voice in educational policy, but the control of education should rest firmly with the local school board (Owen, 1954). National uniformity in education is undesirable because it would result in rigidity and a decline in experimentation (Exton, 1960).

In a study of a university town it was expected that the university would head the power structure of the community, but instead a symbiotic relationship between the university and community was found. The university supplied education and cultural entertainment in exchange for political leadership and economic rewards (Miller, 1963).

(Annotated)
(70 Cards)

V. The Negro Minority and the Problem of Desegregation

Children begin to conceptualize their racial identity before they enter school. The Negro child tends to have greater ambivalence about his race because he tries to identify with the white majority (Radke, 1950; Goodman, 1946). The child learns racial attitudes not only through conversation, but through the observation of adult behavior as well. When children are withdrawn from adult influences and placed in a camp, they will at first maintain their racial prejudices, but will modify them gradually in a situation promoting equalitarian conditions (Yarrow, 1958).

Despite the Negro's cultural disadvantages, he has the same occupational and educational aspirations as Whites, and has even higher mobility aspirations (Gist and Bennet, 1963). It is possible for the Negro child to overcome these obstacles and assume a high status position within American society (Brown, 1965).

The schools were desegregated in order to provide equal opportunity for advancement for both Negro and White children. Southerners most strongly opposed to desegregation were found to be deficient in education, income and occupation - "the basic equipment for improving life's chances" (Tumin, 1958; VanderZaden, 1958; Greenfield, 1961; Martin and Westle, 1959). Education may not lessen prejudice, though it does seem to temper actions and sentiments toward the Negro (Tumin, Barton and Burrus, 1958; Samelson, 1945). Once the inevitability of desegregation is recognized it may still be opposed, but not with the same strength or determination (Deutsch and Steele, 1959).

The integration of school children has been found to be more successful among boys than girls. Informal associations were formed more easily among elementary school children than high school students (Dwyer, 1958), and these associations are considered essential for the change of interracial attitudes (Campbell, 1958). The scholarship of Negro and White children in integrated schools in Washington, D.C. has improved, and the increase in the median on standardized tests has been maintained (Hansen, 1960).

VI. American Indians (North, Middle and South)

The Indian child has traditionally been educated through the informal influence of the home and community (Landes, 1938). With the subjugation of the Indian, the Western style of education has been gradually introduced. The value of the school is highly questionable however. Where the school is seen as a medium for learning to deal with the dominant White or Ladino culture it is accepted into the fabric of communal life so long as it does not interfere with the ceremonial obligations of the child. Depending upon the attitude of the parents, the children may be encouraged to assimilate the school culture (Iwanska, 1963), or only to learn enough of the foreign culture to be able to protect themselves against it (Thompson and Joseph, 1944). When no accommodations to Indian culture are permitted in the curriculum, an attitude of indifference if not resistance prevails (Salz, 1955). The exclusive use of the language of the dominant culture in the schools places the Indian children at a disadvantage and they are viewed as inferiors by non-Indian children (Salz, 1955;
Ecuador
Romney and Romney, 1963).
Mexico

{Annotated}
(92 Cards)

VII. Cultural and Ethnic Groups - Not in the United States

31. German, English and French Education

Two of the most interesting concepts are being experimented with in Germany today: 1) the coordination of education and future employment; 2) the diversification in types of education to accommodate different needs and growth patterns.

In an attempt to coordinate the school with everyday affairs, students in teachers college are encouraged to live and work in the type of area in which they will eventually teach. They not only live in villages, but also commute with students in order to learn about their problems (Education in Germany, 1966). A similar attempt to coordinate secondary school education with the working world are scheduled two week student visits to industries for boys, and nursery schools for girls. The object of these visits is "to give the pupils the feeling that they are individuals to be taken account of." Though the immediate benefits of these visits are questionable, many teachers feel that it has a directly positive relationship to character training and formation (Education in Germany, 1966). Young people who are already working are also invited into the schools to help students discover their true interests and vocations.

Realizing that different students have varied needs, the German system of education is divided into four paths which are meant to accommodate the student in school working for the certificate (Arbitur); the student who works and attends school for a specialized diploma; the student who wishes to continue his education, but not for a higher degree; and the individual who needs to learn how to deal with his free time (Dahrendorf, 1959).

Reform is the primary concern of English education. Should streaming, the separation of children into "homogenous" groups be continued? Should comprehensive high schools replace the British grammar school? The comprehensive high school rejects streaming (Jones, 1965). The examinations are of dubious validity and they put too much strain on young children and their parents. Furthermore, some districts offer secondary places, and thus have a lower cut-off score than others. The children of middle class parents who do not pass the examination can purchase secondary school education, but lower class parents cannot afford the expense (Montague, 1959).

Working class parents aspire to have their children attend grammar school, but on the basis of their children's achievement, their goals were much less realistic than middle class parents. They were also not as concerned about their children's scholastic record (Musgrove, 1961). When parents were questioned about the school leaving age of their youngsters, lower class parents stressed brilliance as a prerequisite for higher education (Kahl, 1953; Pahl, 1963). Academic achievers of the lower classes not only have to sacrifice adolescent freedoms, but also encounter peer group pressure as they strive for positions above their friends (Kahl, 1953). Middle class boys tend to have attitudes and family backgrounds which facilitate their ascension to high status occupations (Halsey and Gardner, 1953). Thus though both classes aspire to the same occupational and educational level, the plans of the youth are adjusted to their respective class level (Stephenson, 1958).

Like the British educators, the concern of the French is how to reform the public schools, and strengthen their relationship to everyday life. Through the democratization of the elite schools, many students who are of average intelligence and whose parents have not had the advantages of secondary school education are combined with those of superior intelligence and cultural backgrounds. For this reason, the value of the curriculum and the former teaching practices are questionable (Sainclair, 1964). The family background of the student will condition his scholastic success (Gerard and Bastide,July 1963). Segregation in the schools occurs on the basis of social origin (Gerard and Bastide, January 1963). Hence if the democratization of the schools is to be successful, the schools must be prepared to enrich the background of culturally deprived children (Sainclair, 1964). The schools can be used as an avenue of social mobility, but thus far education has assisted few people to rise on the social scale (DeCoster and Vander, 1954). Economic progress is of little value if unaccompanied by social progress, and the schools must play an important role in the transformation of human society (Francois, 1966).

French educators have also analyzed the attitudes and desires of French students (Burstin, 1953; Rosier, 1964; Pedagogie Education et Culture, January 1963). Unlike most American studies written in a similar vein however, there are correlations of parental attitudes and expectations of the child with the children's estimation of parental behavior (Pedagogie, Education et Culture, April 1963). They have also studied the differences in the attitudes of parents and teachers toward educational practices and techniques (Faure, 1964).

32. Africa

(Annotated)
(80 Cards)

The material within the annotated bibliography on Africa can be divided into two main subdivisions: 1) the description and commentary on indigenous education; 2) a reappraisal of formal schooling instituted by the Europeans.

The examination of the educational system of the native people of Africa are generally found imbedded in ethnographic accounts written by missionaries and anthropologists. The accounts either describe the life cycle en toto, or specifically emphasize the initiation rites of the members of a particular group. The authors describe the all absorbing mother-child relationship found in infancy, and the gradual expansion of the child's horizons to include other members of the compound and community. The child is socialized by repeatedly hearing lullabies, tales and proverbs which carry a message, by imitating adults, and by actively participating in the communal life. Initiation rites are generally viewed as a dramatic portrayal of the transition from childhood to adult status. Through drama and intensity it engraves upon the child the new attitudes demanded toward adult responsibilities.

The second group of studies is concerned with the development of an educational system based on formal schooling which would enable the indigenous people to cope with the modern exigencies of life. Anthropologists generally point to the alienating effect of the modern education. It fails to integrate the child into the community in both urban and rural areas, and nourishes a barrier between school children and non-school parents which tends to grow as the child advances up the educational ladder. Politicians and economists call for man-power planning in education so that school leavers would be able to find employment. Under the existing system there is a surfeit of white collar workers and not enough technicians, engineers and agriculturalists. Educators call for an integration and adaptions of the European curricula to African needs. This is frequently resisted by Africans, however, because they fear that the transformation would result in a lowering of standard and hence the quality of education.

Though the problems which must be surmounted are recognized and stated in all quarters, little is being done.

Concrete studies are needed which would analyze the socio-psychological impact of the school and also outline school programs and curricula which could be tested. In that way only will the educational systems based on European models be remolded along lines more suitable for African needs. Watermarks should be established against which educational change could be measured, and paper plans related to the actual functioning of the educational institutions.

33. Chinese and Russian

(Annotated)
(83 Cards)

Chinese communist education is heavily overlaid with Chinese communist ideology. In 1949 the Chinese began introducing communist terminology into education, and after a brief period of intellectual criticism in the 1950's the intensity of ideological training has increased (Fraser, 1960). Intellectuals must be re-educated in order to erase the distinction between the general intellectual, who has gained knowledge through work, and the "so-called higher intellectual" who was educated through study (Cho En-lai, 1956). Industrial and mining industries should run schools in order to increase production and eliminate the difference between intellectual and manual labor. Students should study half-time and work half-time (Unsigned, 1958). It is suggested that the result of this approach is to make the educational program as diverse as the number of production units because there is no unified course of study in addition to labor training, and what is taught is dependent upon what the citizens decide to teach (Junryo, 1958).

The Soviets desire to have all children receive a minimum of eight years of education which is supposed to 1) instruct them in the foundation of production and technology, 2) present the scientific approach to nature and society, 3) give them physical, moral and aesthetic training, 4) and prepare them to join the labor force (Korzhev, 1965). The program is sagging however because instruction in production and technology has been neglected. Also, practical training in the schools is frequently not correlated with the students' choice of trade (Epshstein, 1965; Shubkin, 1965). Nor has pragmatic experimental work been coordinated with the educational material studied (Ivanovitch, Shibanov and Vasil'ev, 1963). In order to further strengthen ties with life, the Soviets have transformed the three year secondary school into a two year school so the student will join the labor force sooner, and the loss of the year is to be compensated for by enriching the rest of the curriculum.

Despite the emphasis on an eight year educational program the Soviets have a drop-out problem (Darinskii, 1965; Rutkeich, 1965). This is attributed to outmoded teaching methods as well as poor school atmosphere (Anderson, 1966). Greater training must be given to teachers in educational psychology to help correct this problem (El'Komin, 1963).

Soviet character training is based on the theories of

Anton Semyonavich Makarenko who emphasizes competitive group effort and reward as opposed to individual effort and achievement (Bronfenbrenner, 1962). It has been found, however, that competitive projects on the pre-school level can result in timidity, animosity and lack of self-confidence (Baturina, 1961).

34. Scandinavia, Latin America, Korea, Japan, Philippines, Burma, Thailand, New Zealand, Australia, New Guinea, Admiralty Islands, Pakistan (Annotated) (48 cards)

Frequently the educational systems of foreign countries is placed in a cultural setting and studied as part of an overall cultural configuration. This method reflects the causes for the ineffectiveness of Western education among traditional people. The introduction of schools has been unsuccessful when the adults of the community do not feel the cultural, including pragmatic, need for them and find that they interfere with the practice of local customs (Hans, 1958 /Thailand/; Tumin, 1956 /Puerto Rico/; Salz, 1955 /Ecuador/). When the school does not interfere with ceremonial obligations, and it is recognized as a means of learning the patterns of the dominant culture with which the children will have to cope in adult life, then schools are accepted into the fabric of the community (Iwanska, 1963 /Mexico/). One method of encouraging favorable parental attitudes is to teach native history and culture in order to bridge the gap in understanding between traditional and contemporary problems (Borrie, 1960 /New Zealand and Australia/).

(Annotated)
(80 Cards)

VIII. General Works on Education (Primarily Sociology and Anthropology of Education)

The transformation of American society demands that schools change to meet people's evolving needs. In order to decide how the schools should develop, both anthropologists and sociologists agree that they must be studied within the context and in relationship to the needs of the social milieu. Anthropologists approach the study of education using culture as an integrative concept. The school is studied within the cultural configuration of a particular society (Rosensteig, 1954; Brameld, 1955; Leacock, 1960; Spindler, 1963; Lock, 1963; Kneller, 1965). An invaluable guide to anthropological approaches to education is the "Cross-Cultural Outline of Education" (Henry, 1960). The sociological approach overlaps anthropological concerns, but seems to concentrate more on the influences of institutions on people, social class and status, and role theory (Chandler, 1952; Brookover, 1958; Glazer, 1959; Chandler, 1962; Naville, 1963).

When the methodology of the exact sciences is applied to educational research the results are ineffective because they do not reflect emotions or values (Bantock, 1961). Because of the changing need of students, educators and the society at large, much of that which is known about the school can be classified as "uncertain knowledge" which is clinically vague, though the tendency is to consider such knowledge scientifically absolute (Glazer, 1959). Behavioral scientists must be able to study the school as part of a society in flux touching on intangible variables which are not revealed in surveys and polls.

A microfilmed copy of the Bibliography is obtainable from the Library of Congress, document number   at a cost of   .

PERIODICALS

American

Administrative Science Quarterly
Administrator's Notebook
Adult Leadership
Aerospace Medicine
Agricultural Experiment Station (Technical) & or (Research Bulletin
American Anthropologist
American Association of School Leadership
American Association of University Women Journal
American Behavioral Scientist
American Catholic Sociological Review
American Council of Educational Studies
American Imago
American Journal of Economic Sociology
American Journal of Individual Psychology
American Journal of Mental Deficiency
American Journal of Occupational Therapy
American Journal of Orthopsychiatry
American Journal of Psychiatry
American Journal of Psychoanalysis
American Journal of Psychology
American Journal of Psychotherapy
American Journal of Sociology
American Political Science Review
American Psychologist
American Scholar
American School Board Journal
American Scientist
American Sociological Review
Ancient Education
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science
Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences

Annals of Psychotherapy
Annal Review of Psychology
Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History
Applied Psychological Services
Arab World
Archives of General Psychiatry
Asia
Asian Review
Audiovisual Communication Review
Austrian Journal of Psychology

Behavioral Science
Behaviour (Leiden)
Biometrics
Bulletin of Atomic Scientists
Bulletin of the Institute of Child Study (Toronto)
Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic
Bulletin
Bulletin de Psychologie
Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University
Bulletin Trimestrial de la Commission du Pacifique-Sud
Bulletin of the World Health Organization

California Journal of Educational Research
California Journal of Elementary Education
California Mental Health Research Digest
Catholic Educational Review
Catholic Educator
Catholic Psychological Record
Catholic University American Studies in Sociology
Chicago School Review
Child Development
Childhood Education
Child Study

Children
The China Quarterly
China Research Institute
Civilizations
Clearing House
College & University
College Board Review
Columbia University Forum
Comparative Education Review
Comprehensive Psychiatry
Coöperative Research Monographs
Corrective Psychiatry and Journal of Social Therapy
Counseling
Current Anthropology
Current History

Daedalus

Economic Development and Cultural Change
Economic News
Economist
Education (Indianapolis)
Education Administration and Supervision
Education Digest
Education News
Educational Leadership
Educational and Psychological Measurement
Education and Psychology Review
Education & Psychology, Delhi
Education Quarterly
Educational Forum
Educational Leadership
Educational Record
Educational Records Bulletin
Educational Research
Educational Theory

Elementary School Journal
Endeavour
ETC:A Review of General Semantics
Ethics
Ethnology
Eugenics Quarterly
Eugenics Review
Exceptional Children

Family Life Coordinator
Federal Probation
Foundation

GAP Report
Genetic Psychological Monographs
German Social Report
Gifted Child Quarterly
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry Reports
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry Symposia
Group Psychotherapy

Harvard Business Review
Harvard Educational Review
High Points
Howard Educational Review
Human Organization
Human Relations
Human Resources Research Office Consulting Report
Human Resources Research Office Research Bulletin
Human Resources Research Office Research Memorandum
Human Resources Research Office Research Report
Human Resources Research Office Technical Report
Humanist
Hygiene Mentale

Indiana University, School of Education, Studies in Higher Education
Industrial Arts and Vocational Education
Inquiry
Instructor, The
Integrated Education
International Journal of American Linguistics
International Journal of Opinion Attitudes Research
International Journal of Group Psychotherapy
International Journal of Social Psychiatry
International Journal of Sociometry and Sociatry
Inventory of Research in Racial and Cultural Relations (Chicago Univ.

Jewish Education
Jewish Journal of Sociology
Jewish Social Studies
Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion
Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology
Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry
Journal of the American Medical Association
Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association
Journal of the American Society of Training Directors
Journal of Analytical Psychology
Journal of Applied Psychology
Journal of the Association of American Medical Colleges
Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry
Journal of Client-Centered Counseling
Journal of Clinical and Experimental Psychopathology & Quarterly Review of Psychiatry and Neurology
Journal of Clinical Psychology
Journal of the Colorado-Wyoming Academy of Science
Journal of Communications
Journal of Conflict Resolution
Journal of Consulting Psychology

Journal of Correctional Education
Journal of Counseling Psychology
Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science
Journal of Education
Journal of Educational Psychology
Journal of Educational Psychology, Baroda
Journal of Educational Research
Journal of Educational Sociology
Journal of Exceptional Children
Journal of Existential Psychiatry
Journal of Experimental Child Psychology
Journal of Experimental Education
Journal of Experimental Psychology
Journal of General Education
Journal of General Psychology
Journal of Genetic Psychology
Journal of Health and Human Behavior
Journal of Health, Physical Education, Recreation
Journal of Higher Education
Journal of Home Economics
Journal of Human Relations
Journal of Humanistic Psychology
Journal of Individual Psychology
Journal of Jewish Communal Services
Journal of Marriage and Family
Journal of Medical Education
Journal of Mental Health
Journal of Mental Subnormality
Journal of Negro Education
Journal of Nervous Disease
Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease
Journal of Orthopsychiatry
Journal of Pastoral Care
Journal of Pediatrics (St. Louis)

Journal of Personality
Journal of Personality and Social Psychology
Journal of Politics
Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment
Journal of Psychiatric Research
Journal of Psychology
Journal of Psychological Researches
Journal of Psychological Studies
Journal of Secondary Education
Journal of Social Issues
Journal of Social Psychology
Journal for Social Research
Journal of Speech & Hearing Disorders, The
Journal of Social Therapy, The
Journal of Teacher Education
Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behaviour
Journal of Vocational and Educational Guidance
Journalism Quarterly

Kolner Zeitschrift for Soziologie und Sozial-psychologie

Library Journal

Main Currents in Modern Thought
Marriage and Family Living
Marriage Guide
Menninger Quarterly

Mental Hygiene, N. Y.
Merrill-Palmer Quarterly
Midcontinent American Studies Journal
Midwestern Journal of Political Science
Minnesota Law Review
Minnesota Studies in Student Personnel Work

Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development
Modern Language Journal
Museum Bulletin

Nation, The
National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council
National Catholic Guidance Council Journal
National Civic Review
National Education Research Bulletin
National Education Association Journal
National Elementary Principal
National Parent-Teacher
Natural History
NEA Journal: Journal of the National Education Association
Nervous Child
Neucleomics
New Dimensions in Higher Education
New Mexico Quarterly
New Mexico Society for the Study of Education
    Educational Research Bulletin
The New Republic
New Statesman, The
New York Review of Books, The
New York State Education
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New York University Law Review

Occupational Psychology
Occupations
Ohio Parent-Teacher
Ontario Journal of Educational Research
Operations Research

Pacific Affairs
Pacific Sociological Review

Parliament
Peabody Journal of Education
Perceptual and Motor Skills
Personnel
Personnel and Guidance Journal
Personnel Journal
Personnel Psychology
Phi Delta Kappan
Philosophical Review
Philosophy of Science
Phylon
Political Quarterly
Political Studies
Population Studies
Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science
Progressive Education
Psychiatric Quarterly
Psychiatric Quarterly Supplement
Psychiatry
Psychoanalytic Quarterly
Psychoanalytic Review
Psychological Abstract
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Psychological Issues
Psychological Newsletter, N.Y.U.
Psychological Record
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Psychological Review
Psychological Practices
Public Administrators Review
Public Affairs
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Public Opinion Polls on American Education
Public Opinion Quarterly
Public Relations Journal

Publishers Weekly
Purdue Opinion Panel Poll Report
Purdue University Studies in Higher Education

Quarterly Bulletin
Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol
Queens Quarterly

Reading Teacher
Rehabilitation Literature
Religious Education
Research Quarterly American Association of Health, Physical
    Education Recreation
Research Studies S.C.W.
Review of Educational Research
Review International Sociology
Review of Educational Research
Review of Sociology
Rural Sociology
School
School and Community
School and Society
School Review
School Science and Mathematics
Science
Science Education
Scientific American
Smith College Studies in Social Work

Social Education
Social Casework
Social Education
Social and Economic Studies
Social and Economic Studies
Social Forces
Social Order
Social Problems

Social Process
Social Process in Hawaii
Social Research
Social Science Research
Social Science
Social Service Review
Social Studies
Social Work
Sociatry
Society for Applied Anthropology Monographs
Sociological Quarterly
Sociological Review
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Society for Applied Anthropology Monographs
Sociology of Education
Sociology and Social Research
Sociometry
Sociometry and the Science of Man
Southern Economic Journal
Statistician
Studies in Higher Education
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Understanding the Child
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University Quarterly
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USAF Pers. Train. Res. Cent. Tech. Res. Rep.

Victoria University College Publ
Virginia Quarterly Review
Vital Speeches
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Western Political Quarterly
Wilson Library Bulletin
World Mental Health

Yearbook of National Social Study Education
Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science

PERIODICALS

Foreign

Achtergro
Acta Academy Paedag. Jyvadkyla
Acta Psychologia (The Hague)
Acta Sociology
Africa (London)
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Alberta Journal of Educational Research
Alon Lamore
America Indigena
Anghropos
Archivos Brasileros Psicotecnica
Australian Journal of Psychology
Asia
British Journal of Clinical Psychology
British Journal of Delinquency
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Bulletin of the British Psychological Society

Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie
Canadian Geographic Journal
Canadian Journal of Psychology
Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal
Canadian Psychologist
Ceskoslovenska Psychiatrie
Communaute France-Eurafrique

Development et Civilizations

Eastern Anthropologist
Ecole Maternelle
Educación, Lima
Education in France
Education In Germany
Education Africaine
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Egyptian Journal of Psychology
Enfance
Erziehung und Unterricht
Erziehungswesen im Sozialen Wandel-Ghana. Liban on,
      Ceylon, Indien
Estudios Sociologicos
Etude Cameroun
Etudes
European Journal of Sociology

Fu-tao-yuan

German Social Report
Godishnik na Sofiskiia Universitet
Gesundheit und Whlefart (Zurich)
Heilpadag. Werkbl.
Hibbert Journal
Hopoh Jih-pao

Indian Journal of Psychology
Indian Journal of Social Work
Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes
International Journal of Adult and Youth Education (Peru, UNESCO)
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International Journal of Psycho-Analysis (London, England)
International Review of Education (The Hague, Netherlands)

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International Social Science Bulletin (UNESCO)
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Islamic Culture
Izvestiya Akademii Pedagogicheskikh Nauk RSFSR.

Japanese Journal of Educational Psychology
Japanese Journal of Psychology
Japanese Psychological Research
Jen-min Jih-pao
Journal of Nara Gakugei University
Kolner Zeitschrift fur Soziologie und Sozial-psychologie
Korjakskii Nacional'nyj okrug
Kuang-ming Jih-pao

L'Ecole des Parents
Les idees du jour
L-lun Chan-hsien Wu-Ch'ang
Lunt-t'an

Man
MANAS
Menneske of Miljo
M'gamot
Middle East Journal
Min-tsu Yeh-chin
Moslem World
Musee Vivant

Nederlands Tydschrift voor Psychologie
Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionwissenschaft
News of Norway
Norsk Pedagogisk Tidsskrift
Nordisk Psykologi

Okakim
Orientamenti Pedagogici

Pedagogisk Forskning
Pedagoakika
Pedagogia Rio Pierdas
Population
Praxis der Kinderpsychologie und Kinderpsychiatrie
Problemes Sociales Congolais
Proche-Orient Chretien
Przeglad Socjologiczny
Psychologiche Achtergronden (Amsterdam)

Psychological Studies, Mysore
Psychologicke Studie
Psychologie Francaise
Psychologia, Kyoto
Psychologische Rundschau

Psychometrika
Quaderni di Sociologia

Revista de Indias, Spain

Repertoire de Recherche et Etudes en Cours
Research Bulletin, Institute of Education, University of Helsinki
Research Bulletin from the Institute of Educational Research, University of Stockholm
Revue Scientifique Pédagogique
Riv. Psicol. Soc.
Review of Mexican Sociology
Revista de Ciercias-Sociales
Revue Internationale de Pedagogic

Revue Belge de Psychologie et de Pédagogie
Revue des Etudes Islamiques
Revue Française de Psychanalyse
Revue Française de Sociolgie
Revue Internationale du travail
Revue Psychologique des Peuples
Revue Universidad

Sammlung
Samiksa
Scandinavian Journal of Psychology
Shiksha
Social Kompas
Sovetskaya Pedagogika
Soviet Education
Soviet Review
Soviet Sociology
Soviet Studies
Soziale Welt
Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift
Studium Generale

Tohoku Journal of Educational Psychology
Travail Humain

University of Rajputana Studies in Education Section

Vie Cultuelle 66
Vie Economique et Sociale
Vita Humane
Voprosy Filosofii
Voprosy Psikhologii

Wen Hui Pao

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft
Zeitschrift Diaagnost. Psychologie
Zeitschrft fur Kinderpsychiatrie
Zeitschrift fur Religions-und-Gerstes-geschechte

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE
ON THE CULTURE OF SCHOOLS

held at

GREYSTONE, NEW YORK

February 28 - March 1, 1966

Introductory Remarks

Stanley Diamond

It is my great pleasure to welcome you to this conference and to this effort at assessing and mobilizing anthopological and allied resources in the study of the culture of schools and schooling. I would like to thank you again on behalf of us who are administering the program for the courtesy and generosity of your reports. The purpose of this two-day meeting bears repetition: to help assess the current state of inquiry into the cultural patterns and the social dynamics of mass education, that is, of education in mass society, domestically and cross-culturally, and to help delineate guidelines for future work, both on the part of those of us who are present and also among our colleagues who were unable to attend.

I remember some years ago that when anthropologists first became involved in problems of culture and personality, in problems of social character, of social psychiatry and so on, they did so idiosyncratically and anarchically. That is to say, anthropologists tended to drift into positions with the government or in departments of psychiatry or to work in liason with the psychiatrists, randomly. The discipline, as such, made no effort to investigate itself, to evaluate its suitability, to assess its prerequisites for undertaking work in personality and culture. Moreover, the liason among those who chose such research was often inadequate. Hopefully we have learned from previous experience.

In attacking the problems posed by the culture of schools and schooling the hope is that we shall be able to stimulate large-scale and intensive efforts by anthropologists and people in related disciplines throughout the country and that this will occur with a minimum of repetition and with a maximum of research visibility and opportunity. I do not mean to suggest, and I think that I would be one of the last people to suggest, that research efforts be bureaucratized. The notion repels me. Those of you who know me will understand. Indeed by fostering a programmatic effort at research stimulation and putting it in the hands of the profession, the Office of Education, or at least certain people who are presently leaving the Office of Education, have indicated their understanding of the need for research autonomy. Bold, candid, and innovative research programs are what interest us.

Programmatically then, the function of the first phase of our particular understanding, and I think the second phase is outlined in the proposal that was sent to all of you and I will not repeat the material that appeared there, the function of the first phase of our particular understanding is to encourage anthropologists to get to work on the problem. This means inviting people to send applications for research to the Office of Education, it means the holding of seminars such as this one, the establishment of working faculty and student research seminars in departments throughout the country on education and society, and I think we have invited about twenty people, twenty chairmen of departments throughout the country to submit proposals— and I hope if anyone here interested, I hope that they will speak to me about it. It means also the publication of a monograph with contributions from competent and engaged scholars throughout the country on the critical problems of education. These will be position papers granted in substantive pieces of research. It means the holding of one or more sessions during the next several meetings of the American Anthropological Association and possibly at the regional associations, and those have been arranged, the publication of an annotated bibiography of significant published and unpublished work reaching back for about a generation in the behavioral sciences pertinent to the culture of schools and schooling, in English and also in the major European languages including Russian. The Russians share many of our problems in the development of mass education. They and we, perhaps are the only two nations that began from scratch with the notion that mass or universal education was a social good. The retrieval of data, and this is quite important, the retrieval of data already gathered but also gathering dust for lack of time, money and scholarship. We know that we are not pioneering in the field, and we don't mean to give that impression. We know that a tremendous amount of work has been done, but we also know that not much has been done with a lot of it, and we hope that people will be restimulated to look over their files and to perhaps set up some kinds of coordinating agencies in which the work done can be mimeographed or duplicated at the very least and distributed where it will do the most good. It also means the preparation and publication of a "white" paper, pointing out in detail the need for further research and suggesting possible areas of inquiry. These areas are obvious; they of course would include studies of schools as social systems with all that that implies, the study of the school as a cross-section of local and national social vectors, a local institution, yet with a national reach, a kind of local focus of the national community, special educational milieux both here and abroad, for example the Israeli kibbutz, an experiment in successful child-rearing, a subject which I know something about, the economic and political contexts in which schools function, pressures on schools, the way in which they are directly linked, the power structures in various parts of the country and nationally including the federal government, the variations among schools, that is, the variation in cultural patterns among schools which have, nonetheless, more or less normative social structures. That's an interesting theoretical problem in anthropology, something similar to the tracing of dialects and languages - a common language, the creation of independent dialects; ~~how~~ why come schools differ though their normative social structures tend to be the same. Some have good reputations; some have bad reputations. How are these patterns generated? We are also concerned with, at least I am, with the historical shift from primitive and peasant education, education for skills and vocational education, which is incorporated into the overall socialization process among such people, that is, affective, cognitive instrumental education, shifting network of personal associations. We are interested in the shift from that particular condition to the contemporary urban situation wherein the socialization process seems increasingly to be a function of the formal educational structure. The problems here are vast. For example, how do primitive peoples learn in the absence of these formal educational institutions? We have very little information about that. We know that they do, we know something about bush schools and puberty rites and so on, but how in fact do they learn? What is the periodicity of their learning? How do they learn one thing as related to another? We don't know these processes. And how do we grow up given the attenuation of primary relationships and the increasing concentration on formal educational milieu — if not from the cradle to the grave, at least from the ages of 4 or 5 or 6 through the college and university levels. I don't think that the adolescent sub-culture is a myth. I'll get to that later. We are also of course, concerned with the relevance of educational institutions to social change. Educational institutions, as anthropologists from Leslie White to Franz Boas have indicated, have been by and large a conservative cultural force. The schools and the churches are the two most ubiquitous social institutions in contemporary American society. Neither have been studied thoroughly and systemmatically and scientifically and humanly. But in our culture, the schools have not consistently and programmatically been instruments or an instrument of social change. How may the schools become creators of new societies as well as reflectors of the old? Knowledge for what? What are we educating them for?

Now one could go on like this for hours, spinning out these points and making others, but that is hardly necessary in this group. I think that we would all agree that education most broadly defined is the natural habitat of the anthropologist. We are after all concerned generally with how people become human, and specifically with how human beings become members of this or that society or culture. How the race learns to become human in time and space, that is, how we educate ourselves, is one way of defining anthropology. That's what anthropology is, I have discovered. To tackle this problem within our own milieu is onerous and challenging and draws us into profound and unsettling self-examination. As one of our senior, most distinguished anthropologists whose initials are A.I., told me when I approached him, a professor emeritus, about the possibility of his acting as a primary informant about the university with which he has been associated for forty years. "It would be infinitely simpler for me to write a paper from memory on the Ojibwa than to examine myself as a lifelong actor in the culture of schools and schooling." Studying the educational process in our own society is like doing field work in one's own family. You cannot leave it to the experts as they have been defined in a fragmented and highly specialized culture. You are schoolmen in the broadest and most deducated sense; you are the experts. And our purpose is to help propagate this notion among our colleagues. School and schooling is, I believe, the anthropologist's natural entree to the understanding of modern society.

Now the first presentation this morning will be Dr. Solon Kimball.

Statement of Solon T. Kimball

1. Major functions

There are three main areas in which anthropologists can contribute to the educational enterprise. We can assist in the training of teachers and other professional personnel associated with the administration and operation of the schools. We can adapt the materials of anthropology for use in the teaching process or produce new materials. We can engage in research which illuminates the many aspects of school organization and operation and of the learning process.

During the several years that I have been a member of the faculty of Teachers College, Columbia, my principal function has been that of teaching. I have conceived my role as a bridge between the theories and findings of anthropology and the training of professional educators. This requires that one selects from anthropology those aspects which seem most relevant for professional educators and interpret these within the context of educational problems. As example, the natural history method, which anthropologists use in the gathering and analyzing of their data, is directly applicable to the theory and practice of pedagogy. The training of doctoral candidates in the use of anthropological theory and in the methods of field research offers another example.

There are others which relate to the areas of culture history, culture and personality, community study, etc.

2. Areas for specific research

a. School and community. If we combine the method of community study with knowledge we have of how to study subcultural groups, as represented by social class and ethnic group, with the techniques for analyzing the organization and operation of institutions, we have a combination of research method and substantative sophistication that can make explicit many of the social and cultural problems which affect the teaching-learning process.

b. Learning theory. Common sense coming from the cultural heritage is the current basis for practices in pedagogy. Psychology has contributed in the area of psych-motor skill acquisition and anthropologists have worked in the area of child rearing practices. The cognitive aspects of learning offer a wide open field for research and experimentation.

c. Administrative organization and operation. Empirical observation quickly establishes that urban school systems have not advanced beyond an implicit acceptance of the practices (and theory) which municipal departments and factory systems use. Applied anthropology has developed much insight that could be used in research and in training of administrators.

d. Small group research. Findings in this area are of major importance for modification of all school practices.

e. Classroom materials and methods of teaching. Reference has already been made to the importance of basic anthropological method in this area.

f. Modernization of educational systems in developing nations. No discipline has as much to offer as anthropology in the area of cross-cultural programs which involve education. Our theoretical cultural change, with comparative analysis, and with the development of techniques for directed culture change provide us with a rich story of research and program capabilities which are essential to those who work in the international field.

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Statement of Ina C. Brown

I have done little work with public schools as such but for many years I taught in the Education Department of Fisk University in their summer session when all my students were Negro teachers from the South who had been, for the most part, educated in the segregated schools and colleges of the region. My teaching there generally was in the form of workshops on southern problems in which each student attempted to analyze the social setting of his school on a local, state, and regional basis, and to consider the implications of his analysis for curriculum, and educational goals.

Concurrent with the teaching at Fisk I taught a regular social anthorpology course at George Peabody College for Teachers. Although most of my students were already teachers this course was not slanted because of their vocational orientation.

For the past ten years my teaching has been limited to Scarritt College but as a part of the University Center my classes are open to graduate students from Peabody College and Vanderbilt. About one half of my students are teachers, principals, or other persons connected with schools. Many of these students come from other countries including not only most Asian and Latin American countries, Canada, and Australia, but Fiji and Samoa, and in recent years Liberia, Rhodesia, and Congo. The other students have been mostly

M.A. or doctoral students in education from Peabody who take anthropology courses as a means of adding a broader cultural dimension to their programs. One such student has just completed work for the doctorate in education at Peabody and has returned to Congo to work in the schools. His dissertation was a study of certain social and cultural factors in Congo that must be taken into account in planning curriculum for Congo schools. Another student is currently doing a socialization study in a Congo village. I have worked closely with both.

For the past year I have had contact as lecturer or consultant with a dozen or more school systems in the South, including schools in Mississippi and Alabama, that are in the process of desegregating and hence involved in both structural and functional changes.

My major research in this area, other than background studies, consisted in a socio-economic analysis of the more than 900 southern counties having a 5 percent or more of their population Negro. This research, done within the framework of the relation of social structure to race attitudes, was a background study for the National Survey of Higher Education of Negroes sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education and the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1939-42. Following the completion of the Survey I spent a year visiting Negro Colleges and discussion with their faculties and administrations the implications of the Survey for curriculum planning. Many of these colleges were teacher training institutions and at that time almost the only positions open to the Negro college graduate were in the field of education.

Out of these and various other experiences I have developed a special interest in the way in which the structure of the school in the South has functioned to maintain particular patterns and attitudes. The separated schools for white and Negro children have served to instill into the children of both groups the attitudes, patterns, and habits deemed appropriate to their respective positions. This has been done overtly and directly by law in the southern states, and covertly and indirectly through residential and other patterns in many areas outside the South.

My own studies of the history of the Negro in the U.S. and the analyses made for the Office of Education study clearly indicated that the school patterns functioned as techniques of subordination for the Negro child and less directly functioned to maintain attitudes of superiority in white children. These are, of course, only special aspects of the way in which the schools may function as agencies of conformity.

There were, of course, numerous other patterns that contributed to the concepts, attitudes, and habits of the

Negro and white children but the very structural situation of the school system itself appeared to be of primary importance. The fact, that all schools were segregated, that Negro children were always taught by Negro teachers and white children by white teachers, that school superintendents and school boards were invariably all white, that almost without exception the white schools were superior in buildings, libraries, and equipment, that school funds were allocated by white authorities and almost always distributed with gross inequality--all these factors were a day to day demonstration to everybody concerned that Negro children were considered of less value than white children, the amount and quality of their education less important, and their place in the community designed to be a subordinate one.

The research possibilities here are numerous. As a background there might well be an analysis and summary of the various studies made during the 1940's. As far as I know, little attention has been given to the socialization aspect of the segregated school. At the time our study was made the general climate, even in the U.S. Office of Education was such that we had to play down this aspect which was all too obvious in our findings. Moreover, no attention was given to schools outside the South though many of these schools were to all practical purposes fully segregated.

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Statement of Jacquetta H. Burnett

Because I hold a joint appointment in the Bureau of Educational Research and in a Department of Anthropology, the obligations to both research and teaching are fairly formalized. Their character, however, is not fully determined. I am now developing a course in anthropology and education as part of a one quarter time teaching commitment. With respect to research, I have just returned from a brief study of the student subculture in a Puerto Rican high school. At present I am talking with a group doing studies of student-faculty relations of several higher education institutions, About adding participant observation to their arsenal of research tools. There is interest in the anthropological contribution to programs dealing with the disadvantaged. But in the three weeks since I have returned from Puerto Rico I have not found it easy to fit the kind of complimentary research I think needs to be done into their already well formulated programs. Beyond these activities I have freedom to develop, propose, and find financial backing for educationally relevant research.

Regarding the types of behavioral research that would be important to the study of the school, I wish to discuss three points.

Point 1: Participant observation is little or poorly understood in educational research circles,

Statement of John H. Chilcott

1. Major functions in the field of education:

    1.1 Participation in the pre-professional program of teacher education.

    1.2 Participation in a graduate program in the social foundations of education.

    1.3 Research concerned with identification of ethnic characteristics and problems of education of minorites in the Southwest. (Culture change and acculturation.)

    1.4 Consultant in problems of teaching in a traditional culture. (Peace Corps, etc.)

2. Recommended future research concern:

    2.1 Prior to developing a theoretical framework concerning the school as a socio-cultural phenomenon, it appears that some pretty basic descriptive studies are needed. Lest we become "arm chair" anthropologists, a series of school ethnographies are vital. Such ethnographies would include a description of:

        housing-material culture
        social patterns of speech
        age-grading practices
        interactional analysis-internal and external
        social structure-social roles
        value orientations, attitudes, etc.

folklore, etc. (senior bench)

culture change-innovation

More could be added to this list from the excellent but little used "Cross-cultural Outline of Education" by Jules Henry.

2.2 Once some data has been gathered, we could then examine the existence of such phenomenon as:

2.21 The possibility of educational "cultural areas"

2.22 The influences of "local control" on educational practices.

2.23 Discontinuities between school culture(s) and community culture(s). (also student)

2.24 Discontinuities between school culture and "American Education" as perceived at the national level.

2.25 The cognitive style of American schools.

2.26 Problems of assimilating ethnic and social class subcultures into the school culture.

2.3 Of particular interest to me would be an analysis of cultural change both in the school and in "American Education". Such an analysis would include:

2.31 The process of change in the material culture

2.32 Factors which inhibit and encourage school culture change

2.33 The role of educational innovators, agents of change etc.

2.34 The dissemination of innovations

2.35 Cultural lag of educational institutions and changes in the American culture

2.36 An explanation as to why our intellectual leaders who are so liberal with respect to political, economic, and social affairs are so ultra-conservative with respect to education?

2.4 Finally, in terms of predictions for our economy and leisure time, it seems to me a fruitful area of inquiry might be the attitudes toward and role of informal education in American society.

MAJOR PUBLICATIONS

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"The Place of Anthropology in the American Public School Curriculum," Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 22, Spring 1960, pp. 68-70.

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"A Proposal For the Unification of Secondary School Courses Through Anthropology," Clearing House; 36:7: March 1962, pp. 387-93.

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"The American Family In Historical Perspective," in Readings In the Sociocultural Foundations of Education.

"Some Perspectives For Teaching First-Generation Mexican-Americans," in Readings In the Sociocultural Foundations of Education.

"The Assimilation of Navaho Dormitory Students Into the Public Schools of Flagstaff, Arizona," report to the Museum of Northern Arizona, 1966.

Statement of Elizabeth M. Eddy

Since January of 1963, I have been Project Director of Research for a federally sponsored project at Hunter College. Known as Project TRUE (Teacher Resources for Urban Education), this project is one of several curriculum development projects sponsored by the U.S. Office of Youth Development and Juvenile Delinquency. The purpose of the project is to prepare curriculum materials for use in training programs for those concerned with the education of youth and children in urban slums. Both the project and the materials prepared by its staff have as their focus, the introduction of social science findings, perspectives and training into the teacher training programs.

In addition to preparing annotated bibliographies on urban education, two books of readings and other materials which present current research findings relevant to problems of education in the contemporary urban slum, Some members of the project staff have undertaken limited studies of schools in slum neighborhoods, the experiences of beginning teachers in slum schools, and problems of school-community relationships in the slum area. From these studies, several books are being prepared which have as their aim the training of the educator in an understanding of facets of the problem which do not currently appear to be the focus of books and other materials now available. Primarily, these materials emphasize the institutional arrangements within the school and the formal educational system which hinder or facilitate the education of those in the slum neighborhood.

Based on the modest exploratory research undertaken by this project, several types of behavioral science research would appear to be important to the study of the school as a socio-cultural phenomenon and to education as a means of cultural transmission. Among these, I would like to suggest two as being particularly salient:

(1) Comparative studies of schools within several types of communities.

(2) Studies of teacher-training institutions.

With respect to the first area of research mentioned above, it would seem important that behavioral scientists begin to gather systematic data on the schools in much the same way as they have begun to gather data on other types of institutions in our society. Comparative data would be particularly useful in that it would facilitate greater understanding of similarities and differences in the culture transmitted to those of varying socio-economic status, ethnic origin, *et al.*, as well as the institutional arrangements by which the school transmits culture.

Studies of teacher training institutions is a second area of research which would appear to be crucial to an understanding of the school. Here the needed focus of research should be not only on what is formally taught (or not taught), but, even more impotantly, on the training institution as a socializing agency for the teacher. Careful consideration should be given to teachers as those who, in a sense, have never left school, whose training begins when they enter school in first grade or kindergarten, and who experience traditional types of teacher-pupil relationships which they then attempt to put into practice when they move from the pupil into the teacher role. The manner in which the teacher training institution supports traditional teacher-pupil relationships or is successful or unsuccessful in introducing cultural innovations in these relationships also needs to be investigated as well as the congruence or incongruence between the socialization of the teacher in the teacher training institution and that which occurs on the job after graduation.

MAJOR PUBLICATIONS

Urban Education and the Child of the Slum, Hunter College, Project TRUE, 1965. (Offset Printing: Commercial publication forthcoming.)

Home for the Unwanted, with Julius A. Roth. Book manuscript of a study of two rehabilitation wards for the physically handicapped in a municipal hospital for the aged. In progress.

"Anthropological Perspectives on the Process of Guidance," forthcoming in a collection of papers delivered at the Eighth Guidance Institute, Fordham University.

"Student Perspectives on the Southern Church," Phylon, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Winter, 1964) 369-381.

"Rites of Passage in a Total Institution," Human Organization, Vol 23, No. 1 (Spring, 1964) 67-75.

"Attitudes Towards Desegregation Among Southern Students on a Northern Campus," Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 62, (April, 1964) 285-301.

Statement of John C. Connelly

Interest in the culture of schools has been expressed at San Francisco State College in a number of diverse ways. In formal course offerings this topic has been a focal point in the social and psychological foundations of education (an eight-unit offering required of all prospective teachers) and in a course called Anthropology in Education which was initiated by the Department of Anthropology. In addition a course in the area of audio-visual education has been developing under the auspices of John Collier, Jr. which brings out the use of photography for the collection of field data in education and school settings. This course is comparable in many respects to a course in anthropolotical method and will be described more in detail by John here at this meeting.

The Foundations of Education program, started approximately twelve years ago, replaced earlier three-unit course offerings in educational sociology and educational psychology. It is a single course taught by two teachers, theoretically teaching as a team. In practice some instructors work well as a team and in other cases the program becomes simply two course studied concurrently. The students are in class session two hours daily, thirty to thirty-five hours during the semester with children or youth in a non-school activity. The increased interest in anthropology on the part of educators in general has been an influence upon this program, but even from the beginning a strong influence has been the interest of George Spindler in anthropology and education at Stanford. Most of the original staff which established the program were Stanford graduates and there have been a number of Stanford graduates in the program over the years to maintain this influence.

In the broadest sense the program draws upon content and concepts from what has become known in recent years as the behavioral sciences. Whereas in an earlier period the school as a socio-structural system was a primary concern, there has emerged in the present program an interest in the school as a cultural system with considerable attention being placed upon comparative views of schools and classes for noting unique behavioral patterns developing within similar social structures of schools. The distinctive processes of enculturation, education, and schooling, noted by Herskovits, have been emphasized, and particularly so in the assessment of the non-school and school experiences in which students participate.

The number of sections of the course provided each semester varies from twelve to twenty-five.

The course in Anthropology in Education was initiated some nine years ago by Adan Treganza, chairman of the Department of Anthropology, because of the demand of teachers in the schools. A primary impetus was their demand for more specific and accurate information in the social studies programs of California schools. Although it was offered on campus, the principal area where the course was offered was in the school districts, through the San Francisco State College Extension Service. In the past several years the demand for the course has increased to such an extent on the campus that there has been less opportunity to provide it in the extension program. Efforts to maintain enrollments at thirty students per class have not been successful, and the two sections offered each semester now run between fifty and sixty students. The offering of the course in school districts provided considerable opportunity for experimentation and assessment in the development of the course. The original intent of obtaining more accurate information for social studies programs broadened to an interest in anthropology as an area of study in and of itself. It became a course more specifically for teachers as adults interested in anthropology itself rather than only a resource for classroom programs. Thus the concepts as well as the content of anthropology became important and also the procedures of anthropologists. Out of this development interests moved toward the study of schools and classrooms as cultural systems. This interest has had added impetus as greater national attention has focused upon areas and programs designated "culturally disadvantaged," "compensatory education," etc. School culture per se has become an increasing area of interest in the course.

As the course remains an elective, and its students are in the main inservice teachers, it provides opportunity for flexibility in presentation. In general it begins with a descriptive lecture of the general field of anthropology historically, its field methods and problems, and its significant concepts. Students are left quite free to pursue an area of particular interest to them from this background. Discussion sessions and reports inprogress are made in class. The intent of the class is not to provide an introductory course in anthropology or to assume that the students are anticipating becoming anthropologists, but in the truest sense of the liberal arts are concerned with a field of interest that has been identified by them as significant to their own enrichment as individuals or in their professional careers.

In addition to the formal course offerings, school culture has been receiving increasing attention in school action programs and research projects. Several might be mentioned here and can be discussed in more detail in other times at the conference. Dr. James Hirabayashi in his study of the relocation of American Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area encountered the question of the Indian child in the urban school and Indian adults in adaption to urban training and school problems. These problems are indicative of the intensified attention being given to the schooling experiences of members of minority groups -- the phrase used here to cover the diverse groups including racial and ethnic minorities and socio-economic groups. Another dimension of this problem concerns the sub-groups within the general categories of minority groups. For whatever common identity the term American Indian may imply, for example, the distinctive cultural identities of Pueblo, Navajo, Cherokee, etc., pose questions of accomodation for such individuals and for urban schools. Similarly, under the general identity of "Spanish-speaking," "Negro," "Oriental," there are distinctive sub-group cultures with which school culture is required to cope. Dr. Mary Lane and I are at present conducting a study of three such sub-groups within the Western Addition of San Francisco, a predominantly Negro population. We have identified three groups within the area, using not the racial=ethnic factor as primary focus but instead family life patterns within public housing, moderate-income cooperative housing, and random residency. We will conduct three pre-school programs for children from these sub-groups. Although living in close proximity and utilizing some common facilities such as schools, shipping centers, etc., stress factors of association and alienation arise from differential life styles of families within the separate groups. Teachers within the schools looking at a class of all Negro children but insensitive to the cultural differentials are plagues with incomprehensible conflicts. An outcome of this confusion has been observed in an intensified rigidity in the management of the school which tends to identify the school as a "discipline" school and its cultural pattern reflects a generalized confused mixture of regimented "do-goodism."

In the Sausalito Teacher Education Project under the direction of Dr.James Bixler, consideration of sub-group cultures impinge upon school culture in three major population sources of the school--Causasian residents of the town of Sausalito, Negro residents of a low-cost public housig community, and three nearby military forts. Each of these in turn contain significant sub-cultural differences which feed into and modify the character of the school culture. Attempts of schools to approximate national and state patterns structured in terms of laws, testing devices, curriculum materials, class organizations and procedures, without evaluation of their own cultural uniqueness, are caught up in what Cora DuBois has described as a "strain for consistency" in seeking a meaningful compromise between generalized expectations and specific culture.

To cite further instances of the general assumption and the diversity problem, we have in the Mission District of San Francisco a sizable population of Spanish-speaking peoples. Schools operating on the assumption of the Spanish language as being a primary problem and developing programs of English as a second language are frequently frustrated in their efforts, for failure to recognize that language alone does not bridge the gap between, say, refugee Cubans, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Spanish-Americans, or Mexicans. Similarly the predominantly Chinese school may be coping with problems between third and fourth generation Chinese-Americans and Hong King refugees recently arrived.

The point to be made is the studies of school culture are becoming pressingly significant in meeting the learning problems of children and in providing some legitimacy of cultural diversity in school culture itself. The conspicuous lack at the present moment is for well-designed systematic studies of school systems, school grade groups, classes, etc., on a comparative basis to offset the strain for a fictitious conformity.

Statement of Charles R. Griffith

1. I joined the Department of Educational and Administrative Services, College of Education, University of New Mexico, in 1964 to participate in a National Institute of Mental Health-sponsored project entitled "Leadership Education for Educational Administrators in Multi-cultural Settings" (MH-8479). Earlier (1959-64) I had been a researcher in mental health for the Division of Mental Health, New Mexico Department of Public Health, Santa Fe. As an anthropologist, my new role in education was conceived as three-dimensional: (1) to teach behavioral science theories, concepts, and methods in seminars to ten selected advanced graduate students in educational administration; (2) to teach principles of community organization and development as they apply in different cultural settings; and (3) to guide these students' fieldwork in small, multicultural communities near metropolitan Albuquerque. After three years, the students will graduate with Ed.D. or Ph.D. degrees.

A consensus among faculty members of the Department was that the traditional training program for educational administrators, which included such classic courses as buildings and grounds, school finance, school law, pupil personnel services, and the like, inadequately prepared administrators for the social and cultural complexities of school and community environments in which they would ultimately perform their duties. As one result, significant and far-reaching changes have been and will be made in the traditional administrator training curriculum. In addition to better grounding in the behavioral sciences (anthropology, sociology, psychology), students will participate in group counseling sessions, experience team-teaching from professors who represent various departments in Arts and Sciences, as well as professors of school administration, for problems of school and public finance, urban planning, aesthetics, and others. The philosophy of the new program has been to provide a well-rounded, insightful view of interlocking cultural, social, economic, and political aspects of community life. No longer will the school be seen as an isolated, to all intents and purposes, self-sufficient community institution. Rather the school--its administrators, teachers, and supportive personnel--becomes an active partner in joint endeavors with other community agencies to buttress and enhance community planning, organization, and development. Educational administrators will in effect become generic community action leaders and workers.

My function, stemming directly from this consensus, included seminar offerings on the nature of sociocultural systems and the fundamental processes of directed social change. Concepts employed included "culture", "social system," "power structure," "roles and role-sets," "organizational climate," and many others. The NIMH Fellows acquired a set of conceptual tools with which they might systematically assess community values and needs, formulate meaningful educational programs to meet community expectations, and conduct innovative educational programs effectively.

"Participant observation" fieldwork, during which the students developed interpersonal relations skills with all segments of community citizens and acquired thorough knowledge of the "culture" of their communities, provided that direct experience in community relations believed to be crucially necessary in administrator training. Fieldwork in Spanish-American, Pueblo, and rural Anglo communities gave the NIMH Students and opportunity to widen their intellectual and emotional horizons, particularly with regard to the significance of cultural differences in planning and developing community action programs with the school possibly as the core institution.

In addition to my special role in the NIMH project, I have been teaching courses in "educational sociology," "mental hygiene in the classroom," "race and cultural relations," and "social change" (for the Department of Sociology), all chiefly attended by graduate students in guidance and counseling, educational administration, sociology, and anthropology.

With the exception of program evaluation for the NIMH project, my research into schools and schooling has been limited presently to formulation of research designs and proposals for eventual submission to funding agencies. Evaluation procedures for the NIMH project have included psychological testing (to measure attitudinal change), assessment of fieldwork activities and results, general academic performance, and the like. Our major educational problems in New Mexico as is true in Arizona, are compounded by a rapidly-growing urban population, the multicultural characteristics of that population, an immense range in educational needs from vocational to nuclear physics courses, and an inadequate economic base to meet pressing educational needs. Educational research possibilities abound in the study of multicultural school systems, the training of administrators and teachers, needed curriculum revisions to meet variant cultural backgrounds of children, mental health problems of children, and a plethora of other problems related to the process of education.

2. Suggested additional functions: If the school is to be studied as a socio-cultural phenomenon and a major means of cultural transmission, the behavioral scientist must engage in:

a. comprehensive community studies (structure, function, leadership and power structure, ethnicity factors, etc. a la Lynd, West, Hunter, *et al.*);

b. studies of community "values" and goals, ecological adaptations to environment, a la F. Kluckhohn, G. Allport, G. Lindzey, *et al.*;

c. studies of the instructional process, particularly administrator, teacher, supportive personnel, pupil interpersonal relationships; in effect, group dynamics and "climate" studies;

d. evaluative studies of language learning and teacher preparation in comparative linguistics for multicultural, multilingual children;

e. studies of existing leadership patterns among school administrators; training programs for generic community leadership;

f. studies in communication and public relations to provide data for possible transformation of the present school image;

g. "workshops" including behavioral scientists and educators to explore areas of greatest mutual interests, needs, and contributions.

MAJOR PUBLICATIONS

Kluckhohn, C. and Griffith, C. "Population Genetics and Social Anthropology," Cold Spring Harbor Symposia on Quantitative Biology, Vol. 15, 1950.

"Mental Health Consultation in an Underdeveloped Area: The New Mexico Experience.' Submitted for publication.

"Opposition on the Frontier to Mental Health Programming." In preparation.

"Innovation and Community Resistance: The New Mexico Mental Health Consultation Program." In preparation.

Statement of Zachary Gussow

For a period of nearly six years, 1956 through 1961, I was actively involved in research into schools and schooling in connection with a series of educational research efforts of the Bank Street College of Education, New York, N.Y. One central experience involved spending a period of nearly two years continuously observing and recording the daily behavior and transactions of children and their teachers in selected fourth-grade classrooms in a large metropolitan area. Over 800 hours of detailed narrative-descriptive observations of classroom interaction in the context of school life were recorded. In addition to classroom observation the larger project contained three other areas of inquiry: The institutional study of four schools, individual child testing and interviews, and family background data collection. The project was supported by NIMH and titled "The Psychological Impact of School Experience."

Since leaving the above institution and project I have become involved in medical education in the design, implementation, and teaching of behavioral science concepts and material in the education of medical students and psychiatric residents, and in the development of seminars in medical anthropology at the graduate level in the training of clinical psychologists and sociologists.

The experience and data accumulated in the nearly six years active research in education, while it has not remained my major research concerns since leaving the project, nevertheless has continued to occupy my thoughts and interests. I have produced a series of papers based on that experience, one published in Psychiatry in 1964, titled "The Observer-Observed Relationship as Information About Structure in Small Group Research: A Comparative Study of Urban Elementary School Classrooms," and a number of papers concerned with various aspects of the educational process and research into schools and schooling read at various professional meetings, but not as yet adapted for publication.

Much of the data collected by myself and others in the course of the above research experience has yet to be systematically exploited. One serious problem in large scale and long-term research is that much useful and painstakingly gathered information frequently goes unused and unanalyzed. This happens for a variety of well known reasons: Money for continued analysis after the initial grant for data collection has expired is often difficult to obtain; personnel relocate and become involved in other efforts; there is sometimes the important factor of research "fatigue," or new matters demand attention and the slow and tedious work of data analysis must often be set aside in favor of other more immediate concerns. I am certain that these experiences have been common to many research estabments and projects and that much useful data and material related to central questions of schooling have already been accumulated by a variety of scholars and research teams and are now stored away in filing cabinets representing so many research "corpses." New grants are then obtained by other scholars and the same and similar problems are reinvestigated all over again and sometimes again with the same final results, more filing cabinets gathering dust. One effort I would like to see developed is a retrieval program designed to recover and utilize efficiently some of the material already so painstakingly gathered in the effort at approaching some of the problems posed and questions raised by this new Culture of Schools Program. One advantage in attempting to retrieve material already gathered and in some instances partially analyzed lies less in not duplicating efforts already achieved though this is certainly not an unimportant consideration - but, further, by involving behavioral scientists who have already gained experience in schooling research and having the experience of having thought through many important problems and ideas in the course of gathering their data and living with it, one has at hand a body of experienced thinkers sophisticated in developing concepts and in applying research design. All too often much research, especially the data-gathering phase of it, is collected by young, beginning, and inexperienced researchers.

Undoubtedly much of the data already gathered could profitably be used for some of the purposes and goals at hand.

In the following paragraphs I would like to address myself to two other areas of consideration. The first involves a brief outline of a research design into schooling problems that I think has some merit. The second issue involves some thoughts of mine concerning some of the concepts and proposals put forth in the "Proposal for a Development Activity" circulated to members of this panel.

1. I see a distinct advantage in having a study of schooling, education, and community done something along the lines of the Hollingshead and Redlich investigation of mental illness and social class. A series of communities differing in ecological arrangements and size might be selected for purposes of studying the differential schooling systems and patterns offered and available to the community. In psychiatry, there are private practitioners, open-clinics, fee-based clinics, hospital services, etc. In large urban communities one may find public educational systems, a series of private schools and the parochial school establishments. The relationship between differing school systems and social class would be interesting to chart. From there a characterization of school systems and individual schools within each system might be attempted along lines of educational philosophy, school and classroom enactment practices, theories of child development and concepts of personality growth, career patterns of teachers,

career patterns of children, lines of movement of both children and teachers within the school systems available to the community. Theories of child development and personality growth have been, to an extent, explored by educators and educational sociologists in dealing with the so-called "modern" or "progressive" schools, partly because such schools have been articulate concerning their goals and aims, but to my knowledge far less detailed attention has been given to these considerations in relation to the so-called "traditional" schools and which probably constitute the bulk of schools in this country. My own experience has led me to the position there is a close parallel between theories of child rearing and personality growth and development, on the one hand and educational philosophy and school enactment practices on the other hand.

When I speak of studying school systems I find myself thinking far more like an industrial sociologist rather than an exponent of the "human relations" or "communications" school of thinking that has dominated so many recent behavioral science studies of organizations, psychiatric hospitals and wards and general medical environments. School systems do not end with the principal or superintendent, or as in the case with private schools with the board of trustees, but extend deeply into the community and, particularly in the case of public education, involve the business and political structures, including the press, the chambers of commerce in many areas, political councils and pressure groups of one form or another. The small private school can afford far more autonomy in matters of determining curriculum, hiring teachers, establishing a particular world-view, etc. I would like to see how the broader matters of administration, business, and political life in the community influence and effect classroom content and practice. Such an approach might give us important insights into the kind and quality of "autonomy" individual classroom teachers have or do not have. Significantly, few studies of schooling have gone beyond the classroom teacher. Consequently, we know extremely little even about school principals, persons, who,in the hughe urban public school system hardly occupies a leading decision making position in the organizational hierarchy.

It might also be worthwhile to investigate the relationship between teacher training establishments - in terms of educational philosophy, child rearing practices and theories of personality growth and development - and the practices and thinking of teachers already working and teaching in schools. I am thinking here of a somewhat similar study by Osler Peterson, et al, "An Analytical Study of North Carolina General Practice" (J Medical Education, 31, Pt 2, 1956) where, over time, doctors in terms of their concepts of medical practice and demonstrated competency began to reflect less the medical training they received and more the community standards in which they were practicing. According to Bloom "it was as though the situation - or culture - of the practicing profession took over the major influence on the practitioner, functioning to equalize the total group and reduce their earlier differences" (Bloom, S., "The Sociology of Medical Education," The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XLIII, No. 2, April 1965, P 172.) If similar findings were to be found for teachers it might throw some interesting light on our notions about teacher training establishments and their expected long term influence.

I think using the Hollingshead and Redlich study as a sort of model for investigations into schooling could go in a number of interesting directions. I am not certain we would learn anything radically new, no more than Hollingshead and Redlich did; for certainly most professionals in the field of health were already aware of their major findings, though not on an actuarial basis, but it might well be worth the effort to have such studies document what many of us already suspect to be the case in education. The differences between what upper class children are offered and what is offered to lower class children in the same community might well be worth the effort alone. I would also like to learn how education is conceptualized by members of different classes in the same community and what their conception is of the kind of education their children are receiving. This might make for some insights into "drop-outs" and other "under" and "non-achievers" as similar studies in psychiatric clinics have helped in the direction of understanding more about why people terminate treatment early.

There are many serious and difficult obstacles in the way of any broad study of education and schooling. Access to schools for intensive study of their operations is not always easy to obtain, especially when one is concerned with also studying the upper echelons of administration and power. However, in the light of the importance of such studies I think the attempt should be made.

2. Though the proposal for The Culture of Schools Program does not specify the upper ranges of educational establishments and processes to be studied, it does appear that the focus is aimed at the elementary and secondary schools. It is in this connection that I seriously question the programmatic nature of the proposition that "the general process of socialization is increasingly a function of the educational establishment." Setting aside the fact that children and adolescents spend as much time in and around school, doing homework, and spending time with their school peers as is stated, the fact of time spent alone does not establish the significance of that time and the impact it has on the individuals involved. I think the proposition is, at best, researchable, and should first be examined as a possible hypothesis for intensive investigation, rather than taking it as an established truth. In this connection I heartedly agree with a recent review of Edgar Z. Friedenberg's book Coming of Age in America: Growth and Acquiescence, where the reviewer, Miriam L. Goldberg notes, "Friedenberg joins the ranks of other

social critics who unwittingly compliment the school by endowing it with powers it doesn't have and then castigate it for failing to exercise these powers in changing the social conditions which the critics deplores. Fortunately or unfortunately, there is little evidence to support the assumption that the school '... alters individuals...their values, their sense of personal worth, their patterns of anxiety and sense of mastery and ease in the world...'" (Saturday Review, Nov. 20, 1965, pp 87-89). I certainly think college and graduate school have a profound socializing effect, but I seriously wonder just how valid and extensive this is at the lower educational levels. At best, investigations into the socializing nature of schools and their impact on personality development and outlook demands long term longitudinal investigation. The experience of the North Carolina study cited above would seem to attenuate some of these notions even when applied to post-graduate training.

A second point, correlative to the notion of the school as a major socializing influence, is the notion that the "teacher emerges in our society as a parental figure." Perhaps this has some validity at the upper levels of the educational process, but it can be seriously questioned when applied to secondary and elementary schools. And, if true, certainly the low status of teachers hardly makes them very significant as parental figures. I think this is one of those easy generalizations that can be very misleading attributable, in part, more to fantasy about teachers than to reality. The ambiguous and traditionally vulnerable position of the school teacher in our society has alternatively cast her in a role of possessing more power than she actually has and this, in turn, has compelled society to feel - and rationalize - the need for exercising strong sanctions in relation to teachers.

Finally, I would like to enter a plea that behavioral scientists in the mid 1960's avoid falling into the same attractive pitfalls that befell the field of psychiatry in the late 1920's and during the 1930's. Psychiatry believed, and the public bought the fantasy, that this new knowledge about human beings was going to solve the ill's of mankind and bring solution to all of our major problems. I hope behavioral scientists will learn from the experiences of psychiatry and not fall into the same self-deluding fantasy that our participation and knowledge holds the magic key to the solution of present and future problems. Here, I plead for modest research programs that can be implemented with sophisticated design, and hope we can avoid omnipotent expectations that the application of behavioral science concepts are going to have massive impact in changing the contours of mass education and mass culture.

Discussion:

Diamond noted that the second phase of the Culture of Schools' program would include the creation of coordinated research ventures aimed at just the sort of problems raised by the last speaker.

The need for large-scale, intensive and well-coordinated research was underlined.

Diamond answered that there were not many mysteries behind the failure of mass education. The principle task was to understand and act on the social dynamics leading to the collapse of mass education. Altogether too much had been expected of schools in acting as agents of social change; schools responded to change rather than caused it.

Gussow, someone pointed out, had discovered that the top of an educational hiearchy responded to the forces of conservation in the society.

One educator objected to the generalization that forces for change always came from the outside.

But the generalization was accepted on the grounds that it applied at certain school levels but not at others. Some discrimination had to be exercised in making the assumption.

Statement of Theodore W. Parsons

The School of Education of the Florida State University has recently embarked on a series of programs which give renewed emphasis to the needs of students for integrated experience with the theories and methods of the social and behavioral sciences. This same inter-disciplinary emphasis has begun to characterize the action-oriented research and development programs in process and in planning. These developments are partly the result of a staffing policy which has sought social psychologists, psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists for interdepartmental and institute teaching and research.

As "the anthropologist" who works in the school of education I have four major functions: research, teaching, advisory, and synthesizing. In addition to my own research on the Mexican-Americans of the Southwest, I have been assigned the tasks of writing research proposals applying inter-action analysis techniques to school situations. With the School of Social Welfare I participate in the problems released mental patients have in re-integrating into the community sociocultural patterns. My teaching functions center largely in the offering of inter-disciplinary and inter-departmental courses such as cultural transmission, culture and personality, problems of 20th century society and a faculty seminar which attempts to pull together theories and methods of the behavioural and social sciences as applied to specific research problems. Under advisory functions I group those instances where my professional insights are sought for program planning and implementation, research problems, field problems and so on. Recently I have become increasingly involved in problems involving racial and ethnic minority groups. Permeating all my work at F.S.U. is what I call my synthesizing function. Many of our staff members are making deliberate efforts to relate anthropological content and methods to their own programs. Consequently, I am frequently asked to help individuals and groups rethink their problems in an effort to achieve broader perspective. In these, as well as in my other activities, I am contributing to the further development of an inter-disciplinary, synthesizing, approach to problems of educational concern.

As a leading institution in the Southeast, the Florida State University is becoming more deeply involved in the many federally sponsored programs for aiding "the Negro," the "culturally deprived" and other specially designated groups. Many of us who are associated with these programs are very uneasy about the rapid development of projects designed to promote quick socio-cultural change. All too often it appears that the activity of implementing a project is the major focus of attention, with little concern being given to the socio-cultural factors which determine the nature and dynamics of local participation, resistance, accommodation etc., Also, the assumption that the school can promote significant structural change seems to be too seldom unchallenged. Though the school does have some systemic characteristics of its own, its personnel are drawn from the community at large and may be expected to reproduce within the school their out-of-school socio-cultural patterns. Consequently, it becomes crucial to ask whether the school, any more than any other large institution with limited sanctions, can bring about significant change. The general socio-cultural forces which promote stability or foster change operate on (and within) community members in a variety of institutional settings--including the school.

The assumption that the school can produce important social change is often founded on the arguments that since children spend such a large amount of time in school, it is there that they learn the major portion of their culture content, and that the manipulation of in-school experiences alters out-of-school patterns of thinking, believing, behaving. It may be, however, that only certain culture content is learned within the school and that this is not related to those factors which maintain the social structure. The effects of out-of-school learnings, perhaps, sanctioned by institutions such as the church, family, or peer groups, may cause pupils to learn only selectively within school. Thus the real area of influence of the school may be effectively delimited by the general cultural patterning, the nature and length of children's planned school experiences not withstanding.

These and related concerns suggest the need for intensive research on the school in the community. What I would propose is the designation of several carefully selected communities as field research laboratories for the study of the school as a sub-system within the larger socio-cultural system of the community. Teams of behavioural scientists gathering extensive ethnographic (including psychological) data could ask such broad categories of questions as a) how is the school structurally and functionally related to other sub-systems within the community, and what are the dynamics of these relationships, b) to what extent is the school a stability maintaining institution--through either its manifest or latent functions, c) are there different types of culture content transmitted or reinforced in different settings, d) what content is overtly or covertly permitted or prohibited the school, e) where does the individual learn and receive reinforcement for those beliefs which structure his perceptions of and behavioural orientations toward others in the community, f) what socio-psycho-cultural patterns are brought into the school from the community, and how do these facilitate, inhibit, or structure the individual's relationship to school personnel, activities or content.

Data obtained from such broad and intensive field investigation would provide us with a more secure foundation for making predicitions about the consequence of various school-based programs for promoting socio-cultural change. We could then develop and implement change oriented programs in the laboratory communities and study the results. We would, thereby, not only add to our understanding of American culture and the dynamics of planned change, but provide a focus for planning and direction of the increasingly proliferating, sometimes inconsequential, and frequently dangerous action programs now pouring out of government agencies.

MAJOR PUBLICATIONS

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"Anthropological Contributions to Elementary Social Studies Programs," in W. Crowder (Editor), Social Education in the Elementary School, N.C.S.S. Curriculum Bulletin. In Press.

"Implications of Research and Development Projects for Elementary School Programs," in Effective Thinking, 1967 Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies. In Preparation.

Guadalupe: A Study of Ethnic Cleavage in a Mexican-American Community, New York: October, 1966. Holt Rinehart.

Statement of Warren A. Snyder

Within the last five years some of my colleagues in education and some teachers have asked me to talk to them about the principles of linguistics as these may be related to the problems of teaching children to read and write English. The 1960's may be identified as the decade in which the linguistic dam broke in the English-speaking part of the world. Knowledge of linguistic principles is now diffusing rapidly.

No reader of English can arrive at an understanding of basic linguistic principles without experiencing a clearer perception of the structural monstrosity that written English is. This insight has been achieved by individual scholars many times going far back into the history of written English. For example, several generations of the Pitman family in England have advocated reforms of written English. Benjamin Franklin advocated reforms. There have been many others. Why did these earlier insights have so little effect on culture change as compared to that which linguistic principles now promise to have? One reason is that the earlier insights were isolated insights. They were not assimilated into a traditional pattern of belief about the nature of language. By contrast, the principles of linguistic science have, especially from the 1920's to the present, developed rapidly into a complex belief system, shared, transmitted and changed by specialists working in a number of different applied and academic areas. Anthropological linguists are among these.

Linguistics is contributing to the synthesis of the behavioral sciences. There is a rapid development in the area of psycholinguistics. There is the beginning of a sociology of language.

How may these developments affect the teaching of written English in our schools? We may identify two broad areas of possible influence: (1) contributions toward more efficient, effective and realistic methods of teaching traditional written English, and (2) contributions toward reforms in written English.

The first of these is well under way. The second, at some time in the future, may be,in part, a result of the first.

The American anthropological linguist Leonard Bloomfield devised a system for teaching children to read in the 1930's. His system emphasized the concept of the phoneme and of classes of words based on spelling. No publisher could be found for his work until 1961, long after the author's death. Only now is a series of experimental readers and workbooks based on Bloomfield's system being published by Clarence L. Barnhart.

A similar system was devised by Frances A. Hall assisted by the linguist Robert A. Hall, Jr. The linguistic principles upon which these systems have been based are sound.

The anthropological linguist Charles F. Hockett has analyzed English graphic monosyllables which represent regularities of spelling patterns in relation to pronunciation. Others have carried this work further through the use of computers.

A number of people are now working on dialect differences in relation to the concept of spelling classes. New efforts are being made to clarify the concept of the grapheme especially in its application to written English.

All of this will be useful in teaching beginning reading, spelling, and remedial reading.

Criticisms from some specialists in education and some psychologists point out that linguistic approaches have overemphasized the formal structural approach and have slighted problems of content, story interest, and perception. Reading material advocated by the linguist Henry Lee Smith, in collaboration with teachers and psychologist, retains the linguistic approach but represents an effort to improve content and avoid some perception problems.

The "Reading in Color" system developed by the educator and psychologist Caleb Gattegno, while it does not come directly from the traditions of structural linguistics, can be related to the concepts of phoneme--grapheme correspondences and of spelling patterns.

In England, Pitman and others have developed the initial teaching alphabet. Graphs used in ITA correspond closely to phonemes of standard English in England. Some efforts are being made in the United States to apply the method here.

The development of all of these methods will accelerate the diffusion of knowledge of linguistic principles. This, in turn, will increase the recognition of need for reform. Within a generation or two we may predict that resistance to reform will be much weaker and less influential than it is today.

Cultural anthropologists and sociologists may contribute to our understanding of the forces of resistance to change in written English. It will be important to have as thorough knowledge as possible of the social and psychological functions involved in maintenance of the present system of written English so that these may be taken into account when efforts are made to bring about reforms at some time in the future.

These studies will be important for theoretical as well as practical purposes. For example, study of written English by behavioral scientists may contribute to our understanding of irrationality or nonrationality in culture.

The following quotation from Kroeber presents the theoretical point:

"Allied to this unawareness or unconsciousness of cultural form and organization is the irrationality of much of the collective in culture. 'Irrationality' is what it is sometimes called." "It covers a variety of happenings in culture which have in common a factor of inconsistancy. The totality of a situation or way of doing comes out less regular and less coherent than it might have been under rational planning." "The point, of course, is that such irregularities and inefficiences were not thought out but are the result of long and complex histories, with quite different factors often impinging successively." "In one sense the outcome is 'irrational' indeed, in that the institution lacks the full reasonableness which its defenders claim for it. Actually, it rather is non-rational, and only partly that. Most strictly, it is that the institutional pattern is irregular, not wholly consistent."

Discussion

It was suggested that the introduction of linguistics as a school subject might well provide an excellent opportunity to study how teachers resist change.

Teachers were defended, however, on the grounds that they are not as irrationally conservative as all that. They are after all, in direct contact with the children and thus know what will be accepted and what rejected.

Snyder confessed that the introduction of linguistics in California schools was bound to create much furor deserving of study by anthropologists.

Observers would have to be placed in classrooms because teachers did not always report up the hiearchy what was happening in their classes. There was not just a single educational power structure, but many.

Statement of Raymond Wilkie

1. My major functions as a behavior scientist in teacher training and educational research include:

(1) The training of school counselors in an NDEA Counseling and Guidance Institute. I am involved in the practicum supervision of counselors, and in teaching about (a) the social structure of American Schools, (b) personality theory and social psychology.

(2) Research in which I am currently engaged includes:

(a) A study of educational innovation in a non-graded elementary school; its historical background, its social milieu, and its effects on staff and students. This shcool, Garden Springs Elementary School, was described in Look Magazine in March, 1965, and the first phase of my study will be a chapter in a book on Educational Innovation, edited by Dr. Richard Miller, of the University of Kentucky's Center for the Study of Educational Innovation.

(b) A study of the personality and attitude changes of counselors in our NDEA Counseling and Guidance Institute, based on both personality tests and the analysis of personal documents.

(c) A study of cultural change in the rural ejido communities of the Laguna region of North-Central Mexico, with emphasis on educational changes since

1936. (This is a continuation of the community study which was my Ph.D. dissertation. It will be published by Stanford University Press).

II. A- Types of behavioral science research which would be important to the study of the schools and of education include:

1. ACTION RESEARCH, in which the research is involved in bringing about change, at the same time he is studying the process.
2. PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION, in which the researcher(s) are part of the ongoing system, but in which they make no effort to change the system.
3 COMPARATIVE STUDIES of different schools or school systems with the focus on determining the relative effects of different factors on the students, the staff, the community.
4. LONGITUDINAL STUDIES, following the same children and staff for a number of years.
5. STATISTICAL STUDIES, utilizing existing statistical data, tests given by the schools, etc.

II B- Content Areas of Importance in the study of American Schools include:

1. The decision making processes in the selection of principals, and other power roles in the educational system: the power structure of schools, how it is created and maintained.
2. The effect of different school social structures on

the motivation and self concept of both staff and students, over a period of years.

3. The processes of innovation in the creation of new schools; what are the forces that create and maintain innovation; what are the ways that innovations are resisted and modified.
4. The channels of educational mobility for children in different cultural and social-class positions.
5. The conditions within a school that facilitate teachers and children to become self-actualizing; the relative importance of personality and social structure factors and their interactions.
6. Longitudinal studies of the personality development of students and of new teachers; the effect of the school system on personality.
7. Studies of pre-school children and their families; the effect of pre-school programs on children of different cultural and social-class backgrounds.
8. Studies of the community power structure as it relates to the support of the schools; the school board, the professional organizations of teachers other important community forces.
9. The effect of federal, state and private moneys on local school systems. The role of outside money in innovation, and the ways in which such resources are diverted to maintain traditional power structures.

10. Studies of schools and of teacher training programs that seem to be especially effective in work with special cultural groups or with lower socio-economic groups.
11. Studies of the processes of self-renewal in school systems, of successful in-service training, of the resistances and defenses against self-renewal and self-study.
12. Studies of the communication system, or lack of it, between school and parents.

Statement of Yehudi A. Cohen

(The following is extracted from a brief discursive letter)

...(it seems to me) that all future conferences about education will have to include people from engineering and other related physical or "hard" sciences who will be able to tell us something about the nature of the technology of our educational systems 50 or 150 years from now. I would...say that as in connection with many other problems that are considered to be "social," the line between social and physical sciences is becoming rapidly blurred and that it is quite impossible for one group to speak about social problems without including members of the other group.

In line with this, I would also like to point out that one of the greatest needs that we have in planning for research in connection with the education is for people who are willing to make complete breaks when necessary with traditional concepts and traditional ways of looking at things and who are willing to be bold enough to stick their necks out and look at the future. In other words, we have got to recruit people for research in connection with education who are concerned with problems in the future rather than merely doing the equivalent of fighting brush fires or trying to catch little sparks that happen to be flying around at the moment.

In my own case, I have been very involved recently in a large scale cross-cultural study of the evolution of educational institutions from the simplest through the most complex levels of social organization. One of my major purposes in this connection has not only been to try to find out what the history of educational institutions has been but also to try to deduct or infer from the regularities that I have been uncovering what the future directions of educational institutions might be. I will be discussing some of the substance of this research in my paper on Monday afternoon. I am afraid that I cannot be too clear in answer to the question as to what my major functions are as a behavioral scientist in the field of education except to say that I am a theoretician and I am primarily concerned with the uncovering of cross-cultural regularities in the field of education as it is related to other institutions in the culture. Thus, and in answer to the second question, I think that formal educational institutions have to be viewed as one special case in the general process of socializing individuals. That is I think it can be demonstrated both historically and cross-culturally that there is a fairly linear sequence in which the culturalization and socialization of individuals moves steadily away from the household and kinship in the direction of non-kinship and into areas of impersonal techniques. In other words, I see education and socialization as functioning on a continuum, rather than being distinct from each other. As a result, I feel very strongly about the fact that research into education had to combine observations made on simpler cultures together with observations made in contemporary advanced cultures in order to be able to make some educated guesses about what some of our problems are going to be in the future.

MAJOR PUBLICATIONS

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"Character Formation and Social Structure in a Jamaican Community," PSYCHIATRY, Vol. 18, pp. 275-296, 1955.

"Four Categories of Interpersonal Relationships in the Family and Community in a Jamaican Village," ANTHROPOLOGICAL QUARTERLY, Vol. 3, pp. 111-147, 1955.

"A Contribution to the Study of Adolescence: 'Adolescent Conflict' in a Jamaican Community," SAMISKA: JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN PSYCHOANALYTIC SOCIETY, Vol. 9, pp. 139-172, 1955 (Reprinted with revision in SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PERSONALITY: A CASEBOOK, see below).

"Structure and Function: Family Organization and Socialization in a Jamaican Community," AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Vol. 58, pp. 664-686, 1956 (Reprinted with revision in SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PERSONALITY: A CASEBOOK, see below).

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"The Sociology of Commercialized Prostitution in Okinawa," SOCIAL FORCES, Vol. 37, pp. 160-168, 1958.

"Passage to Notting Hill," NEW STATESMAN, Vol. 58, No. 1479, pp. 71-72, July 18, 1959.

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"Matrilineal Descent, Matrilocal Residence, and Political Leadership," paper presented at the 61st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 1962, Chicago, Illinois.

"The Establishment of Identity in a Social Nexus: The Special Case of Initiation Ceremonies and their Relation to Value and Legal Systems," AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Vol. 66, No. 3, pp. 529-552, 1964.

"On Putting the Toothpast Back in the Tube: A reply to Mrs. Moore," AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Vol. 67, No. 3, 1965.

"Social Aspects of the Consumption of Food," INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, Vol. 3, 1965 (in press).

"Sculpture and Social Structure," paper presented at the 63rd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 1964, Detroit, Michigan

624

Review of CULTURE AND PERSONALITY, by Victor Barnouw, AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. 70, pp. 502-503, January 1965.

Review of THE AMERICAN ADOLESCENT, by David Gottlieb and Charles Ramsey, AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. 71, p. 344, November 1965.

"Macro-Ethnology (Large-Scale Comparisons)," Chapter 17, in INTRODUCTION TO CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY: ESSAYS IN THE SCOPE AND METHODS OF THE SCIENCE OF MAN, edited by James A. Clifton, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965 (in press).

"Estrangement, Weariness?" Review of Vol. 6 of PSYCHOLOGY: STUDY OF A SCIENCE. CONTEMPORARY PSYCHOLOGY, May 1965.

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"Adolescence, Psychotherapy, and Social Structure," to be published in ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PSYCHOTHERAPISTS, January 1966.

Books:

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PERSONALITY: A CASEBOOK, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.

THE TRANSITION FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADOLESCENCE: CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES OF INITIATION CEREMONIES, LEGAL SYSTEMS, AND INCEST TABOOS. Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1964.

(editor) MAN IN ADAPTATION: SELECTED READINGS (2 volumes). To be published by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, May 1966.

Statement of Robert Hanvey.

One expects anthropologists to sense and concern themselves with the culture of schools. But what about those in the midst of the enterprise? Do educators sense that there is a culture of the schools? Most don't; some do. Not surprisingly, those who are most aware of that culture are those who have bruised their knuckles against it, have felt to some extent alien to it.

It is those educators, then, who have been concerned _about_ the schools, concerned with changing the schools who eventually become most aware of the extent to which various assumptions and practices link up to form a tightly integrated system. Those of us who wish to engineer change become, of necessity, students of that system..

Some of us are not very systematic in that study; we are certainly not "behavioral scientists". But we are serious observers, clinicians with more need and opportunity to experiment than some whose studies are more sanctified by theory and less impelled by so crass a motive as improving the schools.

I must speak, then, as an "engineer" not as a scientist. The American Anthropological Association sponsors the "engineering" effort in which I play a part: the effort to introduce some small measure of anthropology into secondary school curriculum.

From the work of the Project has come an increasingly clear identification of important subsystems of school culture. Many of these systems have been, until recent challenges, highly stable, perniciously stable.

Consider, for example, the matter of teacher scholarship. The professional obligations of the teacher have not customarily included scholarship, even in the sense of consuming, let alone producing. Neither school administrators, nor teacher colleagues, nor students nor parents have expected the teacher to be widely (or currently) read, in his field.

This condition hinges to teaching load, which ranges from 25 to 30 hours weekly. If the teacher is not to be an active and growing intellectual, then he can be expected to be a factory hand. Modest job qualifications and low salaries hook into the circuit in obvious ways.

The non-scholarly teacher is suited, of course, to the text materials he has traditionally purveyed. These demand learning--but never thinking.

Such a web of arrangements comes into view when you change even a single element. If, for example, you introduce materials that are rich in data and call for student thought rather than recollection, then new demands are placed on the teacher. He finds a need to read again, because he must become a thinker, too. It is then that his work load--five or six classes a day, 150 students--begins to be seen as not merely onerous but as dysfunctional--in terms of a changed definition of his role.

I would not pretend to suggest fruitful types of research in the schools. But I might suggest one development that could bear on research decisions. The "team-teaching" or "staff-utilization" movement has been underway for about seven years. This is an attempt to effect a comprehensive change in the schools through administrative re-organization of staff, time and space. A number of new schools are experimenting with this rather different _formal_ organization. Observations suggest that the _informal_ organization may not have changed significantly. But there is some basis, at least, for comparing an explicitly innovative school culture with a traditional school culture.

Statement of Thomas F. Green

As a philosopher of education, I am concerned with the study of epistemology, social philosophy and moral theory. The techniques of lignuistic analysis bear directly upon the formation of a theory of pedagogy and the development of curricula. Yet, until the past decade almost no attention had been given to the logic of teaching itself. The logical canons of the disciplines and the rational methods of inquiry have reserved little or no attention in the education of teachers. I am interested in changing this.

As a social philosopher I am interested in the fact that the social conditions of action in modern society, and perhaps even the concept of rationality in itself are changing. I am interested in describing how the changing social structure is reflected in different things that need to be learned in the process of socialization, and this requires a restudy and reconstruction of traditional concepts connected with authority, work, morality and individual integrity. It interests me, for example, that though we have long distinguished theoretical and practical reason, we may need now to understand a new form of technical reason. It interests me also that though we have inherited a moral tradition which focuses on rectitude and value we may need to understand the moral agent in terms of his effectiveness and efficiency. What is moral education under these circumstances? Indeed, can there be an understanding of the moral agent couched in these terms? How is personal identity possible unless we do understand these matters in a way to preserve continuity with the tradition.

In short, I am interested in describing the transformation of values implicit in the movement from rural to urban life in such a way so that the old may be recognizeable in the new and a historical memory so important to the preservation of a civic order may be preserved. I am interested in how civic education can be conducted in a society where the distinction between public and private is obscured in the polity and the economy and where it is equally obfuscated in the personal lives of individuals. In such a world how does one educate the public man. Indeed, what can we mean by the term "public"?

These are some of the matters which concern me as a philosopher of education. There are others. But these represent the points at which logic, epistemology, and moral theory intersect with sociology, anthropology, and pedagogy.

MAJOR PUBLICATIONS

Ford Foundation of Arkansas Experiment in Teacher Education. Author of report on education in the humanities, 1957.

"A Humanities Teacher Looks at Engineering Education," Journal of Engineering Education, 1958.

A series of teacher guides and other articles on the Church in modern politics and on Christian education. There were ten such brief articles done over this period appearing in the adult education publications of the United Presbyterian Church, 1960-1961.

"The Importance of Fairy Tales," an essay on wonder in Educational Forum, Fall, 1963.

"Teaching, Acting, and Behaving," in Harvard Educational Review, Fall, 1964.

"Topology of the Teaching Concept," in Studies in Philosophy and Education, Fall-Winter, 1964.

Essays in Theology and Education, co-edited with Dr. Marjorie Reeves, St. Anne's College Oxford. (at the press)

Statement of Estelle S. Fuchs

As an anthropologist concerned with education, my primary function, for the past two years, has been to participate in research under the auspices of Project TRUE (Teacher Resources for Urban Education), a research and curriculum development project sponsored by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and Hunter College of the City University of New York. The work of this project has concerned itself with a study of the experiences of beginning school teachers, observations in city schools, in-service seminars held for Department of Education Faculty, and the preparation of curriculum materials to be employed in the training of teachers and administrators for service in inner-city, or depressed area public schools.

During the last few years, American schools and their personnel have been confronted with new types of problems as Negro Americans and other minority groups have become more articulate in their demands for what they consider to be full educational opportunity and equality in American life. Frequently the civil rights movement had collided full force with educators who are often at a loss to understand why they are so bitterly attacked. In order to provide case studies which could be used in the training of educators to help them better understand these conflicts, I undertook the investigation of two instances of conflict. One study concerned itself with conflict between a school principal and the parents of the _de facto_ segregated school he headed. The other was an investigation of "Operation Shutdown," a school boycott held in New York City, 1965. In the later study, several young participants in the boycott give their perceptions of the school experience, indicating their grievances.

The preliminary research which led to the development of these materials has led me to believe that the investigation of conflict or "trouble" situations in American schools--"trouble" being defined differently by various segments of the school population, as well as segments of the larger American society--appears to offer an exceedingly fruitful area of research. In the course of these situations, the goals, attitudes, values, etc. of the contenders is highly revealing of larger cultural tensions as well as of the changing roles being played by schools in this era of change. The theoretical implications of such studies would include further elucidation of the function of conflict in change or as an aspect of stability.

Fundamental to all further research in American education is the compilation of many ethnographies of schools. These are required in order to provide a body of comparative data.

Another area of research which requires expansion is more classroom observation data compiled by interdisciplinary teams. This data should cover teacher training classes as well as children's classrooms.

Although many other areas of research are open, I would like to suggest one other. Studies of the effects of the education of the child in terms of quality and success upon the acculturation of the parents. Are these factors correlated variables?

MAJOR PUBLICATIONS

Pickets at the Gates, Project TRUE, Hunter College, 1965.

School Boycott, Project TRUE, Hunter College, 1965.

[illegible]

Statement of John Collier, Jr.

Statement on Background

My teaching role at San Francisco State College is to function as a link between the skills of anthropology and the needs of education. One of these skills is systematic method for observation of school culture and the community environment surrounding schools, tutorial centers, and youth clubs. For four years now I have held a course in photographic recording for school teachers and students of education. The goal of this workshop is to enrich the curriculum of social studies with environmentally-oriented visual aids that the school teacher can manufacture herself with the simplified use of the camera. At the same time, making the photographs provides an objective experience in observation that sensitizes the teacher to the environmental reality of her students.

A second program that I have been instrumental in developing relates applied anthropology to the action field of education. "Anthropology for Education" is a long-standing course at State, originally designed to give teachers a rudimentary knowledge of anthropology. I changed the emphasis of this course to the concepts of anthropology that have relevance to the problems of the elementary and secondary school teachers as innovators. I have found a rewarding relationship between my experiences in applied anthropology and the dynamic functions of education.

A third program is a workshop seminar for anthropologists in non-verbal evidence gathered with the camera. This course is a feed-back of fifteen years of intensive ethnographic recording.

My background for this effort is education and anthropology comes from twenty-five years of direct involvement with action projects of rehabilitation, self-development, and necessary acculturation. I first experienced these challenges as an information specialist for the Farm Security Administration, carrying out photographic reportage in what many call our "Bitter Years." Later I carried photographic reportage into the industrial relations of the Standard Oil Co. (N.J.), including an assignment of Colombia, where I assembled a two years' study of the culture and economy of this diverse Andean republic.

My intense education in anthropology was at Cornell University where for three years I was a research assistant to Dr. Alexander H. Leighton to develop photography as a tool of research in anthropology. In collaboration with the Stirling County Study in the Maritimes of Canada, I applied photographic research to a regional study of the epidemology of mental disease in rapid social and technological change, and examined the relationship of mental health to the cultural environment. One aspect of this was an experiment in projective interviewing with photographs, working with the fishermen and farmers of the Maritimes. Later this testing was repeated on a cross-cultural level with the desert herders and farmers of the Navajo of the Cornell Fruitland Project of Community Development.

On completing this field work, I made a photographic baseline of culture of the Vicos Indians for the Peru-Cornell Project directed by Dr. Allan R. Holmberg. Here was my most important experience in successful education and redevelopment accomplished with the skills of applied anthropology.

(more)

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS A FIELD WORKER IN CULTURE: THE APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Anthropology has great relevance to the role of the teacher and to the problems and processes of education. We have observed that many of the humanistic problems of the teacher are comparable to the challenges met by the social scientist. Both the applied anthropologist and the school teacher are innovationists, agents of change, and stimulaters of cultural vitality. Both share similar challenges in their relations with community organization and culture. Both must deal with the "native" with an intense rapport of communication and empathy. Both can fail completely if this interpersonal relationship is inadequate or disturbed. Both deal in the holistic approach to personality; teaching the "whole child" involves meeting him on his authentic level of culture where personality can be found and mobilized for the self-development so essential to change. How close this concern is to Dr. Allan Holmberg's search for the energy source of the Vicos peon Indians which, had it not been discovered, would have left the Indians as inert as they were found. School drop-outs are often defectors from culture, or casualties of the gulf that lies between' two cultures, the teachers' way and the "natives'" way.

The field methods of the anthropological community study can support the teacher in many areas of her program. Natives are not obliged to cooperate with the anthropologist, and if the natives won't talk interview research simply halts. In the same way the student is not obliged to learn if his native culture does not insist that he do so. Particularly now in this ambivalent age, to use George Spindler's words, "The students dare you to teach them." This is a common attitude, one that I meet in Art School classes today, where I teach creative photography. The "dare" must be met with tact and empathy, and the class' hostilities to each other and to you must be met dispassionately and tempered with insights into the cause and effect circumstances of the students' real lives. Seeking friendly informants in the village, or making communications with your class, both are circumstances where the field worker and the teacher respond together in much the same way--with this exception: the fieldworker knows he is just a visitor in the house, and many teachers fail to realize they are just visitors in the community.

This unconscious professional attitude, "It is my official business to teach you," and its corrolary, "It is your duty to learn," leave the teacher unprepared to meet the hostilities that invariably arise in public education. Such attitudes assume a polarized environment in culture, without the conflicts of cultural dislocation and the anxieties of too rapid change. Few teachers work in such harmony, and to have empathy for the disharmony and personal attacks by parents on schools requires a very different assessment of the teacher's role. Anthropologists meet and deal with disturbed natives in the same way the social psychiatrist fends and adjusts human relations to some constructive end. The teacher needs to learn from her fellow behavioral scientists that cultural circumstance is something to work with, on the one hand with the sympathy of therapy, and on the other with skills of social engineering. The teacher, too, needs to be the participant observer and interventionist. The skills of the field director of a going community research project can be compared to the adjusting, knowing, skills of the able school superintendent.

The hurt, the dilemma, of many teachers arises from their inability to diagnose the presence and the background of school failures and hostilities. Lack of analytic equipment makes teachers try to solve problems "by love alone," and love is often not enough. The modern teacher inthe modern jungle needs every skill of the behavioral sciences to "understand" her class, to meet parents on truly sympathetic grounds, to deal with the pressures and injustices of school and community administration. Anthropology has these skills to deal with major areas of the educational dilemma: the cultural limitations of parents facing changes in school curricula, the anxities of parent groups when education inadvertently challenges the values that create cultural and personal identity, the harassment by school administrators caught in the bind of the very school in which the teacher is working, the background of the poor achievers and drop-outs that defy all alurements of education, the groups--American Indian, Mexican, or Negro--who exhibit patterned un-intelligence, or the children that sit silently and hostilely in the back of the class. Functional understanding of cultural phenomena and process could support the teacher in gaining insights and tools for dealing with all these circumstances.

One of the reasons that accurate diagnoses of student problems are not made is the verbal communication block between the student and the teacher. I feel visual observation can offer one appraisal of the cultural richness of the otherwise deprived student that can beused as a building block in motivating the "disadvantaged" youth. Further, I feel that diagnosing problem students not only involves clinical psychology of the individual but as significantly the whole environmental content of the child, without which no personality can be understood.

The reality of the urban classroom today is that every classroom is a crosscultural arena where collective education succeeds by delicate balancing and coexistence of very diverse human parts. Surrounding most city schools is a culture moat where members of the class fall and are lost, often for good, to education. Bridge building across this chasm right now in this effort to reach the "disadvantaged" child is a major anthropological task. "How.to cross the cultural chasm and communicate with the natives?"

The innovationist in applied anthropology must accomplish this around the world. Teachers must learn these skills of building bridge heads with cultural strangers. But this cannot be done without a working knowledge of culture. We have had a century of failure in educating the American Indian, where education by the nature of the cultural conflict had to be a subtractive one. For years the missionary hospital and school at Ganado, Arizona, on the Navajo Reservation carried these welcoming words by its main gate: "Tradition is the Enemy of Progress. In a mission school in Farmington, New Mexico, the students have often repeated the covert prayer, "Dear Lord, help me not hate my mother and father!"

As we face the challenge of educating poverty's children, let us not make these educational tragedies again. Additive education, growing from within, building on the cultural system, preserving cultural identity for maximum self-determination, is surely the answer for cross-cultural education and continues to be the answer in the developments of applied anthropology.

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Statement of William A. Westley

This is a new area of study for me, so the interests are yet forming. At present, they are concentrated in the patterns of development of universities and colleges -- with ways of describing these patterns, in terms of the organization and culture of these institutions, with the roots of particular forms in the history and community setting; their function in the education and socialization of the student; and the role of the institution and its professors in the larger society. I share, with many of my colleagues in this field, an appreciation of the importance of the university culture and student sub-culture on the nature and quality of the socialization and education of the student. I am, however, more convinced than most, that their cultures are shaped by the patterns of authority and division of labour of the school, which in turn, are rooted in both its special history and community setting. Since my past research experience is almost completely in studies of the police, of crowds, of adolescence and of the relationships of family organization to emotional health, and I have had no experience in doing research on education, my thoughts in this area are only embryonic -- therefore, I come to this conference more as an observer than as a contributor.

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Statement of Momoyo Ise

I work in the Research Department of the Crusade For Opportunity specializing on research in education as a sociologist. The organization is funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Its main purpose is to provide assistance and new social opportunities in Syracuse, mainly in poorer sections of the city, and primarily for Negroes. The goal of the research department is to evaluate programs of the organization, and the organization itself as an agency of change.

There are currently eight educational programs, carried on collaboratively with the school systems of Syracuse -- public and parochial.

One of the central interests of Crusade-obviously one that has political and ideological overtones today-concerns the attempt to counteract the previous learning of children in the programs.

I want to describe two of our research programs. The research department is devoting much of its effort to the "Team Planning" program. The primary goal of the program is to provide better prepared or specially trained teachers for the disadvantages children. Instructional specialists are selected and appointed by the Program Coordinator and are allocated to different schools. These specialists lead meetings of teachers and develop the teaching plan and also inform teachers about the new audio-visual methods. Also they make audio-visual materials available to teachers. Currently we are conducting the interviews involving all of the instructional specialists, about 100 teachers and school principals in the city. We are trying to investigate the change which is brought to each school through the experience of the Program. Change is sought particularly in the ways which teachers communicate with each other, and in their classroom behavior. These classes will be studied by the use of observational methods in the school settings.

The other program, "group guidance", emphasizes the function of socialization in the school through close contacts of guidance counselors and children. The groups are small, each group usually consists of eight children. We have pre-established control and experimental groups, in designing the program. An Opinion Poll was implemented. This Opinion Poll attempts to measure life image, the degree of experienced social isolation, and inclinations toward school. We shall give a post-test in June. The guidance counselors will also be interviewed.

Through interviews with teachers and Crusade program personnel, we also hope to know how these relationships between personnel who are internal to the school and Crusade personnel who belong to different lines of command would affect the program. It would seem that whatever success the program might have, might very well depend upon the teachers' acceptance of the instructional specialists or guidance counselors. This is, however, a problem to be evaluated.

Research of this kind should be long term. It is a difficult condition because our research unit is part of a large organization under year-to-year Federal funding.

However, our programs extend from the pre-school program to the program for the high-school drop-outs. Through a wide range of age groups we hope to see the organizational and functional relationships, if any, from one school stage to another.

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Statement of Murray Wax

For the past five years I have had a two position kind of involvement in education. On the one hand, during the periods I have been resident on a university campus, I have had a joint appointment in a school of education. When I was at Emory University, the nature of this appointment was that I formed part of a team of four to six scholars, representing as many disciplines, who instructed a group of students in a program leading to the Master of Arts in Teaching. In virtue of this arrangement, I had a fair amount of contact with the staff of the school of education, and I think that they and I both felt that I was contributing something novel and unusual to their deliberations. I also felt that, in return, I had colleagues who had the practical and detailed knowledge of the operations of a metropolitan school system and could keep me from going astray on matters of fact. As an additional responsibility, I did do some supervision of master's theses in education, and I found this appalling; if the student had any intellectual sophistication, it had been channeled into educational psychology with its tests and measurements, and here I preferred to keep my hands out of the cooking; while, in most cases, the student has no conception of true research, and again I preferred to retire from involvement. At the University of Kansas, where I am now located, my responsibilities are simpler. I teach one course to seniors who either just have had or are just about to undertake their practice teaching. I teach it as a sort of introduction to the sociology and anthropology of education, and I elicit a rather enthusiastic response, particularly because I discuss the realities of life in metropolitan schools: social class and ethnicity, the sociocultural gulf between teachers and pupils, folk peoples and formal educational systems, social and political power, and the like. Many students are interested in these phenomena, but I think that most are incapable of grasping my value orientation, which implies skepticism and criticism of schools and teaching; they are much more inclined to reinterpret the data I present into their own orientation as teacher and reformer. Other than this course, I have virtually no relationship to the School of Education at KU.

Now, in addition to this involvement on the formal university level, I have also been conducting research which has focused on Indian education. While I entered this field more because of an involvement in Indian affairs and a notion that the Office of Education was a convenient source for funds with which to conduct a community study, I found that the study of the educational process involving the Oglala Sioux of Pine Ridge said a great deal not only about the Sioux but about formal education generally. Of course this is an old story in the social sciences: as Everett C. Hughes puts it, if we are interested in the occupations and professions, we find that research on the prostitute gives us insight into the priest, because they both deal with men in an hour of need. Anyway, I am now continuing my study of Indian education, and having done my first studies on federal schools among the Sioux, I am now involved with public schools among the Cherokee.

If I turn from a discussion of what I have been doing to a statement of what social scientists could be doing, I think mostly in terms of research. And I feel moved to begin by pointing out that, as governmental structures dependent on community mandate and support, educational systems are sensitive to criticism and define as criticism the detached description of the good social scientist. There is then a problem in gaining entry into a school system in order to study it, and there is the reciprocal problem of protecting the identity of the people involved when the study is written. I didn't do a particularly good job of protecting identities in the Pine Ridge study, and I'm not sure that within the context of a federal contract that identity can be protected. Anyway, given the sensitivities of the schools, and the corresponding sensitivities of schools of education, there is a great deal of psuedo research being generated -- research which refrains from asking basic questions about our educational system.

Let me give an example of what I take to be a void in our research endeavors: has anyone studied what happens to teachers in the course of their work within the educational system? Many programs of educational reform naively assume that, if teachers simply had better training (of a variety favored by the reformer), then they would do a better job in the classroom. However, few programs have looked at the process of interaction within the classroom as one which molds the teacher into being a certain type of person. There are, I know, some before-and-after type studies on teachers, but they tend to be simplistic -- and in my judgment focus too strongly on the role of the teacher inthe formidable educational bureaucracy -- without looking at the effect on the teacher of being "on stage" before so many stranger so many hours per day. The reform programs in the field of education remind me of those which have been advanced in medicine and which there presuppose that what is required is a new and superior kind of nurse, which is to be produced by a superior type of training, but which usually has avoided a careful examination of the conditions of work of the nurse, and the effect of those conditions in shaping the character of the nurse as person. Perhaps we need a "goffmaniac" study of the moral career of the public school teacher, and we might begin by inquiring what proportion of teachers are regular consumers of tranquilizing drugs!

Another aspect of the educational process where I think that a great contribution can be made, especially by anthropologists and comparative sociologists, is in what I would call for the moment the realm of social and psychic costs.

In so much of the literature of educational reform, the notion is of how the time of the child is being wasted and, if we were only really skilled, we would be teaching the US child reading at two, Russian at three, and relativity theory at four. Now, in fact, we might be able to do this, but what would we be sacrificing in the psyche of the child and in the social fabric? Dealing as I do with Indians, I am repeatedly struck by the social, physical, and esthetic skills and graces they have, which are lacking in middle class children. And in ethnographic literature, one repeatedly finds the field worker extolling the virtues and graces of "his people". Let me put the matter another way: within the contemporary US the trend is strongly to put more of the time of the child and the money of the community into the school system with the hopes that the child will thereby be given "more"; yet it is certainly plausible that the child is thereby also acquiring "less" of many other things. Incumbent on the social scientist is the duty of making clear the nature of what is being sacrificed and the limitations of the system of formal education as presently constituted.

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SCHOOLS AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

DONALD HORTON

Having accepted the assignment to speak of the school as a social system, I would like to begin by stating some of the limits of my discussion. First I'll assume that we are talking about the American public schools. This is to exclude Catholic and other religious schools, non-sectarian private schools, etc.-- not because these are unimportant but because we have very little information about them. Secondly, my illustrations will be drawn mainly from field studies in which I have observed a big-city elementary school in a predominantly low-income area and also a school system in a prosperous lower-middle class suburban community. As a matter of fact, I would like to reinterpret the assignment and speak more of the school system than of the individual school.

I have accepted the concept of "social system" in the assigned title, but I think perhaps I ought to say something about the way in which I will use this concept. I think of it as what Herbert Blumer, in a paper published a few years ago, called a "sensitizing concept." The term "system" has the function of sensitizing us to interconnections and interdependencies among events in the world, in somewhat the same way that the term "pattern" does, but with more of a connotation of action and of functional necessity. But this valuable conception can lead us into a serious distortion of life if we abstract the systemic aspects and treat them as the whole of it. In my view, system is a polar concept. Social life tends towards the development of system in the same way that personal conduct tends towards habit; but opposed to system is anti-system--processes that are constantly tending to break up, distort and transform the system-connections. It seems to me that the larger the scale, the less the systemic quality; or perhaps it would be better to say, the less the degree of unity, harmony, equilibrium: for example, national life, conceived of as a "society," compared with a particular organization within it. Historical processes are anti-system: systems are always being destroyed and painfully reconstructed. Only by keeping history out of our conceptual schemes can we preserve the system concept in its pure form.

When we attempt to use "system" as an analytical concept, we reun into the difficulty that the same term is commonly used to refer to concrete educational organizations; e.g., the New York City school system. A similar usage is followed in speaking of railroad systems or the Federal Reserve System, where the entity referred to operates through a number of connected units. I shall try to avoid this difficulty by using the term "educational system" as my technical term and "school system" as the designative term of common usage. When the townspeople refer to their school system, they mean the organization whose members are the board of education and their employees. But what I shall refer to as the "educational system" includes positions, roles, activities of children, parents, interested community groups and even participants outside of the local community (e.g., professional associations).

This notion that the local educational organization (school or school system) is only the core of the functioning educational system, is especially pertinent when we note the extent to which changes in the form and educational content of the school system are controlled by outside agencies. In a study of the school system in a suburban community in New Jersey (which I will name Brookview) we were impressed by the extent to which its operations (especially those involving money) are decreed and policed by the state. Through the bureaucratic structure of the state educational department new administrative procedures may be imposed, or new requirements specified for the curriculum, or new resources provided for "special programs." The teachers employed by the system come to it already trained -- adequately or not -- by institutions of higher education over which it has no control; and its principals and superintendents are also trained by outside agencies. Both teachers and administrators bring to it professional definitions of aims and standards of performance, professionally elaborated "philosophies" of education. The major elements of the curriculum are controlled by the changing demands of the colleges, first felt at the high school level and then transmitted down through the grades. Its teaching materials,and therefore a major part of the educational process, are prepared by publishers of textbooks, films, slides, etc., and are accompanied by detailed instructions and advice to the teachers. Significant innovations are generated elsewhere, especially in the universities and teachers' colleges. The local system has some limited freedom of choice among the materials offered. It may choose teachers according to one criterion or another. It may favor a superintendent who is devoted to economy or one who favors expansion and innovation.. It may provide an average class size of twenty or of thirty. But in the large view these are matters of marginal differentiation.

The greatest influence is exerted throught the organizations of what I will call the "educational world." The "educational world" is a vast and intricate congeries of organizations concerned in one way or another with educational practice and the educational professions. It includes schools of education, research centers, the foundations whose grants are the risk-capital of innovation, professional associations, publishers, accrediting agencies, commissions of inquiry, technical and professional journals, all interconnected in regional and national networks. The local school system is connected with this world in innumerable ways, and its influences penetrate deep into the life of the system, in the steady stream of salesmen demonstrating their textbooks and materials to the principals of the schools, the heavy flow of professional and technical periodicals and books to every level of the system; above all, the engagement of the professional staff with their respective associations, through whose publications and conventions they keep aware of the changing definitions of their professional duties and rights. Even the lay school board members of our suburban town are members of a federation of school boards. Teachers and other professionals may also be members of professional specialty groups, in addition to the general teachers' organizations, by which they are kept informed of changes in their areas of special competence. The system also organizes special conferences and workshops to which are brought speakers from the universities; at the same time, teachers and administrators attend courses for advanced degrees at the universities. In short, considered as a process rather than as an organization, the local educational system is so integrated with the educational world that the question of boundaries becomes problematic.

Within the local community the school organization we studied is enmeshed in a network of connections with the major sectors of community life -- with the business community, the service organizations, the social agencies, and so forth.

But of special significance is its involvement with what I shall refer to as the unofficial educational political organizations of the community: these are to be distinguished from the official political party organizations concerned with the municipal and higher levels of government. In Brookview, as in many other communities in New Jersey, the members of the board of education are elected in special annual elections held for this purpose (while at the same time the annual school budget is voted upon) -- elections carefully separated from the elections for other offices. It is a basic principle of the educational institution here that the educational elections are "non-political," meaning separated from the "politics" of the official parties. This separation is, in Brookview, in our judgement, fairly successfully maintained. But where the official parties are excluded, voluntary associations have developed whose function is to provide candidates and conduct election campaigns, and these and their activities constitute an autonomous sphere of educational politics.

> (A question from the floor at this point was followed by a discussion of regional variations in the extent to which schools are involved in the "official" politics. Inter alia it was pointed out that in the South one of the most important political issues for over a decade, desegregation, has been focused on the schools. This is becoming increasingly true in the North.
>
> It was also observed that "politics" is thought of as corrupt and corrupting; the school is a sacred institution, to be protected from this influence.)

My point is that the school system is the focus of influences from many sources in the local community and beyond, influences conveyed through many different organizational channels, not the least of which is the local educational political system. The local school system has to arrive at a complicated set of compromises among the competing forces playing upon it from "outside." In attempting to draw the boundaries of the system of educational activities for purposes of inquiry, these extensions beyond the school organization have to be taken into account.

Suppose we now look at the local school itself as a system: here again the question of boundaries is troublesome. As an organization it consists basically of three roles -- teacher, child (pupil) and principal -- combined in various ways in working groups and supplemented by such auxiliary roles as psychologist, nurse, custodian, etc. The parents appear on the periphery -- not actual members of the organization, yet affiliated with it. But if we look at the school as a system of action, and at the assumptions that govern it, a different picture emerges. The typical day school (and our elementary school we must remember is a day school) has responsibility for the children for something like eight hours a day, five days a week. The parents are responsible for them the rest of the time. This division of time is accompanied by an assumed division of function. If we think of education as consisting in its broadest sense of enculturation and socialization, the school is seen to be responsible for the major share of enculturation, but not all of it; and the family, supported by community agencies such as the church is responsible, but not entirely, for socialization. The major family task is socialization, but they are also responsible, during the child's first six years, for the child's learning of the language and of many of the basic concepts of his culture. And the school, primarily concerned with the development of symbolic skills and the traditional knowledge they make accessible, is also responsible for certain aspects of socialization. In particular, it teaches the child how to play a variety of roles in organized groups of peers, how to give and obey impersonal orders, in short, how to participate in a bureaucratic organization -- something which the family cannot do.

The educational enterprise traditionally assumes that there will be a continuing reciprocity between school and parents in the coordination of actions serving these two functions. This means that in examining the school as an organization we see, as it were, only half of the educational process, the other half being hidden in the private lives of the children and their families. I suppose in all the professions successful professional performance, depends upon certain forms of cooperation by the client. The doctor can't cure the patient who refuses to obey his rules and in law, I suppose, the client has at least to comport himself properly in the courtroom. But here, in the case of education, an extraordinary amount of cooperation from the clientele, the parents, is expected, cooperation in all those aspects of socialization and enculturation which are necessary as preconditions for the child's participation in the social and intellectual life of the school.

Viewed, then, as an organization the school appears to be a relatively closed unit, but the system of educational action spreads out through all the families connected with it in partly open, partly hidden reciprocation. Behind these families there are other organizations that also serve educational and socialization functions -- the scouts, churches and Sunday schools, sports organizations, church-affiliated clubs, and private teachers of the arts -- who are thus indirectly operating in some degree of reciprocity with the school system.

Incidentally, my impression of Brookview is that one of the things people get when they move to such a town is an opportunity to recapture control over more of the socialization process as compared to the relative loss of such control in the cities from which they come: or, if they have not yet borne their children, it is the anticipation that their children will grow up in a more controlled environment. The children in such a community are involved in so many adult-controlled and organized activities that they are kept "off the streets"--the synonym for potentially delinquent, unsupervised and uncontrolled behavior. This observation suggests that the idea that the school has been assuming more and more of the parental socialization functions needs to be reexamined.

> (Here, in a colloquy between Horton and Diamond, it was agreed that it might be more accurate to say that the organizations representing the family extend their control over the children.
>
> Diamond then remarked that the child may "fall between stools" in the sense that school, family and family surrogates all assume some partial responsibility for the child through his "total life cycle." Horton responded as follows:)

Well, from my point of view...one of the institutional assumptions of American education is that the family is providing the continuity of the child's life. If you view his life as a career, a career as a student in the schools, for example, it is the family that is expected to be there, perhaps with the help of the church, to help him move from one phase of his career to another. The schools themselves do not provide such help. To be sure, the school psychologist may do something like this for a few of the emotionally disturbed children. He may see them year after year as they go from one grade to the next. The guidance counsellor may see some students, at least through the three or four years of high school; but generally speaking, the school moves the child from grade to grade with a different teacher at least every year if not twice a year, and no one in the school really knows him intimately or follows him through the crises of his development. The family is supposed to do this; but if the family breaks down, then nobody does it. You can call this a breakdown in the school or in the family: at any rate, the institutional process is not taking care of the child as it is supposed to.

> A general discussion ensued in which the point was made that under these conditions the peer group may assume a special importance in this aspect of socialization. The peer group is more consistent and continuous in its contacts with the child than is any other agency outside of the family itself. The role of the peer group in filling the gap between generations accounts for the great contemporary importance of the peer group.

I think I will skip to a point that I wanted to raise, the practical issue of the education of children of poverty. My remarks about the expected sharing of functions between organization and clientele are relevant to this issue. The resolution of this problem requires some change in the traditional relations between the school and parents.

Now, in fact, I think that what is happening here, in this matter of educating the disadvantaged, is that the educators are really changing the basic ground rules of education. The governing policy of American education has always been a laissez-faire policy under which every child is offered an educational opportunity, but whether this opportunity is accepted or rejected, profited by or thrown away, is pretty much up to the child and his family. It is true that the school people try to encourage the child in one way or another, to give him incentives, but the school has never assumed the responsibility for seeing to it that he become in fact "educated." Children have been offered the opportunity to become educated, but it has been taken for granted that some would not profit by the opportunity, that successive cohorts of the unmotivated or otherwise unfit would be eliminated at various stages of the educational career, and that the bulk of the unfit would come from and return to the lowest social class. It has been the general assumption, as in all laissez-faire theories, that this process would work out for the good of society. From it we would get about the right number of unskilled laborers, the right number of the middling educated white-collar workers, about the right number of professionals, and so forth.

There is no real departure from this principle when we undertake to comb the schools for bright children who might have been missed, and lead them on to become physicists and rocket engineers, for this still depends upon their willingness to take the special opportunity offered them. But if we say that from now on we are going to educate the children of the lowest class, we are going to see to it that they become educated, we are saying something that American education has never said before. This means, sociologically, that we are proposing to eliminate the lower-lower class, the class of unskilled labor, within a couple of generations. I suppose that no one believes that the majority of the adults of this class can be re-educated enough to raise them to a higher class level; but rather that the class will be wiped out by the elimination of further recruitment into it. If this is really intended, then it seems to me that this is a complete abandonment of the historic laissez-faire policy.

> In the general discussion that resumed at this point it was suggested that this change in policy is extending throughout the American school system and is affecting all social classes.

As I have said the educational process is only partly carried on by the school; the other part is carried on by the family and community, and over these the school has no control. Parenthetically, it should be observed that this is most true at the elementary school level. The older the child, the less his family is involved and the more of a role is played in his education by his own autonomous experience in peer group and community. In the case of the middle-class school, that is, the school in the middle-class community, no control over the family is needed, because both school and family start from common cultural premises, Teacher and mother are from the same social class, the same cultural background, and the child is raised, whether intentionally or not, in a way that fits him for that teacher's classroom. This is not true where the family culture is the lower-class culture. The new policy will require the school either to change the family culture of to assume more of the family's share of the total educational process. School people tend to believe that the family culture and socio-economic condition must be changed, but that some other agency will have to do it. Conant falls back upon a massive "adult education" program, although in my view what is at issue is the inadequacy of a culture, not of some particular point of view, attitude or idea that might be changed by an educational program. The other possibility is already foreshadowed in the Head Start Program which proposes to extend the influence of the school down to age levels for which the family alone has been responsible until now. It seems very likely to me that one of the consequences of this trend must be the development of various kinds of residential institutions to protect children from incompetent parents and provide the kinds of life experience that contribute to and are complementary to successful school roles.

> A member of the seminar remarked that in the Washington, D.C. area, the home study programs, which were the precursors of Head Start, are now insisting that the parents have to be made a part of the program. They are not taking the child out of the home but are insisting on bringing the home into the program.

In attempting to take over more of the family's function in socialization and enculturation, the schools are up against difficulties that raise important research problems for the social scientist. Because it has always been taken for granted as in the nature of things that school and family play reciprocal and complementary roles, little attention has been paid to the family's actual functions, their nature and range, and their specific connections with the educational process. Although the literature on social class differences in child-rearing makes some contribution here, it is only recently that Deutsch and others have been asking just what the middle class does for its children and the lower class does not, which fits the one group better for schooling than the other. Now that this question is being asked and the answers sought in research I would expect to find that many unnoticed aspects of the life of educated people will be found to be important. I have in mind especially the great variety of ways in which children of such parents are encouraged in their intellectual development, their development of skill in the use of different kinds of symbols, through word play, joking, punning, puzzles, games of all kinds, role-playing, and so forth.

> Comment from a participant: that even more neglected is what the lower-class family or the ethnic family has been doing for its children which is not being done by the middle class.

> A brief general discussion brought the speaker back to the problems involved in describing the school or school system as a social system.

...I have found it difficult to conceptualize a system of this complexity particularly because the conventional structural categories of sociology have seemed to me inadequate for the task. One can't understand the dynamics of such a system without also taking into account economic and political relationships and processes.

Query: Could we contrast (the study of an educational system) with a sociological study of a factory?

The traditional problem of industrial studies has been the role of the informal vs. the formal relationships in the organization: such matters as the function of the informal social structure in defining and enforcing the criteria of an acceptable level of work. But one of the interesting things that comes out of the comparison is that in the study of education we are interested in the "content" of the work of the system, that is, the teaching process and the things taught; but I think that when we go into a factory as sociologists or anthropologists we isolate the social relationships for study and don't care about the technical process, the chemistry of it, or whatever.

Comments at this point indicated that some participants in the seminar agreed with this statement while others did not.

One of the participants then shifted the focus of discussion to the question of the special value of a system study, using the current research in medical sociology as a case in point. In this research, the nurse is the center of attention, just as in much educational research the teacher is the center. In both cases poor service (medical or educational) is attributed to the practitioner. The fact that nurse and teacher are victims of many hidden forces operating within their respective systems is overlooked.

Another remarked that one difference between the school study and the study of a factory is that the question of

> boundaries is more difficult in the former; one doesn't usually have to carry one's study of the factory out into the family life of the employees.

In the school system you do have to carry the analysis out into the community in many directions because, as I have suggested, if one looks at this as a system of educationally oriented activities, rather than as simply an organization (the schools) the relevant community activities are part of the system. One can look at these consisting of circular processes supporting functional relationships. In the economic sub-system the circular processes include annual cycles of tax collections, distribution of money within the organization, a partial return flow of money to the community (much goes out of the community), and other "return" or "feedback" processes in the form of accounting, leading to the preparation of the next year's budget, new appropriations, new tax collections, and so forth.

This circular system of economic transactions, it seems to me, can be taken as something of a model for all other functions of the system. Each leads out to the community and involves some reciprocity between community and school system. Indeed, the significant reciprocities may extend beyond the local scene. For example, in Brookview, the annual cycle of bargaining between the board of education and the teachers with respect to their working conditions and prerogatives began in the local Educational Association, where old achievements were reviewed and new demands formulated and ratified.

But in these discussions the recommended standards of the state and national associations played an important role and the local leadership was in close touch with and received advice on strategy from their representatives. My point is that wherever one examines the dynamics of the system one is led to organizational channels that connect with other systems and one finds that demands conveyed through these channels are being compromised and accommodated in the changes occurring within the central organization.

> Discussion again returned to the comparison with studies of factories and hospitals. It was said that in studies of, e.g., mental hospitals, it was customary to treat the hospital as a closed system and not to be concerned with activity systems ramifying into the community, and that this might be justified because of the fact that the mental hospital is more "closed" in that it takes care of the total life of the inmates.

Maybe it is a matter of where you focus in the system. If you were observing a single ward over a period of a year the effects of concurrent changes in the hospital as a whole would be minor and could be disregarded. But if you want to examine changes in the structure of the hospital itself you would have to take into account its relations with the state, the community, etc.

> Following a few further exchanges the members of the seminar had a brief recess. After they reconvened, the speaker was asked to comment on the problems that would be faced in setting up a school system in an "ideal" planned community. This led to an extended discussion of the various external controls that would limit freedom of choice and innovation. These include the requirements of state law, the conditions of accreditation, etc. Examples were given of ways in which external influences are brought to bear on local educational controversies.

I think what I am really illustrating is the extent to which it is becoming a national system of education and the extent to which the local community is battling, or certain interests in the community are battling, to regain control of a system that is slipping out of their hands. I would guess that year by year the amount of control exercised by the community is becoming smaller. Their most effective remaining control is power over the budget, but in fact only over a small fraction of the budget. The total amount of the budget rises every year as a result of uncontrollable increases in costs. The local fighting over the cost of education affects only proposed expansions of services which may cost only a few hundred thousands of dollars in a budget of five or six millions. It is sometimes suggested that the intensity of feeling generated over these relatively small sums is due to the fact that this is the only area where the townspeople have any autonomy, so that they channel into this one area all the resentments felt about the uncontrollable taxation imposed by the state and national governments. This is probably true. But I also think that the intensity of emotion generated is due to the fact that the degree of autonomy is perceptibly diminishing. The little bit of control left is slipping away.

However, the importance attributed to autonomy is probably relative to one's attitude towards the educational world and the influences it exerts on the local community. The better educated sectors of the community are generally in favor of the changes being recommended and pushed for by the educators. It is those who oppose the expansions and extensions of school services who cling to local fiscal autonomy as their only hope of resisting the national trends.

The substantive issues are also reflective of the different educational needs and values of the several class, ehtnic and religious groups in the community. In Brookview the population was almost equally divided among Catholics, Jews and Protestants, with the Catholics tending to be lower class and the Jews and Protestants middle class. The latter were more likely to plan to send their children to college and to demand that the school program be constantly revised to assure their children admission to "good" colleges; while the former were inclined to resent the double burden of maintaining both public and parochial school systems, and at the same time could not see that their children would benefit from the expensive changes that were made from time to time in the college-preparatory program.

These three religious groups appear to be largely separated from each other with respect to their social activities, which, especially among the Catholics and Jews, tend to center in church-sponsored organizations. The latent hostilities among them probably have little occasion for expression in the ordinary affairs of the community, where the main concerns are matters on which there is basic agreement -- the need for adequate municipal services, for example. But on the issues of the cost and content of the educational program, these divisions, reinforced by differences in class culture and income, emerge in the form of Anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic sentiments or social class hostilities which are alluded to only very guardedly in public discussion but openly expressed in private communications.

In view of the bitterness of the contention that occurs in communities such as Brookview, it may seem surprising that the school system is able to survive and maintain its stability. I would attribute this in part to the support it receives from its supra-local connections. Indeed, the state and national associations of teachers, principals, superintendents, etc., as well as the state educational apparatus have developed in large part to reduce the vulnerability of the local systems. Another stabilizing factor is the flexibility, or versatility of the system itself, especially as shown in its comprehensive high school, which allows it to perform significant functions for every important segment of the population. But perhaps the most important source of strength is the fact that there is a basic community agreement on the need to maintain the system. No one in the community questions the commitment to education. People will quarrel over whether it should cost this much or that much; they will try to shape the program to their own needs and values; but nobody wants to see the system destroyed. The system itself includes mechanisms which support and give symbolic expression to the community consensus.

I would include here the use of the bland public relations language of the educators which avoids sharp definition of purpose; the congenital optimism of all pronouncements; and the periodic ceremonials in which conflicts are put aside and the common purposes reaffirmed.

Summary of Discussion

Much of the discussion developed from Horton's distinction between the school as a system with numerous strands into the community vs. the more traditional sociological view of the school as an organization with a fixed personnel. Three points in particular were discussed: 1) the implications of the sharing of functions between school and other groups and institutions with particular reference to the problem of continuity of socialization. 2) The implications of the systemic point of view for education of the poor and 3) the difficulty of conceptualization of the school when the complexities of the impingement of community and supra-community social forces are recognized.

Turning to the question of continuity of socialization, the discussion began with Horton's statement that socialization and enculturation functions are shared with the family and with other community groups. American education assumes a high degree of reciprocity and parental actions are expected to complement and support school actions. This assumption of reciprocity is higher for educators than for any other professional group. While doctors, lawyers and others expect cooperation from their clients the degree of feed back and support that is assumed is of a lesser order. From the point of view of shared functions the schools themselves form only a part of a total system of action which includes the family and other institutions. Given this view of schooling Horton questioned the accuracy of the statement made earlier in the meeting that the school is taking over control of the socialization function. Rather, he suggested that in middle class suburban communities there is a recapture by the family of control over the socialization process which is accomplished by involving children in numerous organized activities. This keeps them off the street and under parental control. However, it was pointed out that it is not so much the family but rather the ethnic and social community of the upper middle class which recaptures control over children. The instruments used are one~~'~~s that the family accepts but this is not precisely the same thing as familial control. A further point noted was that regardless of how functions are divided there is no total life cycle responsibility in American Society in terms of a culturally worked out institution. The family does part, family surrogates do part, as does the school and other groups. The question is what agency is responsible for continuity of socialization.

Horton noted that one of the assumptions of American education is that the family is the group providing this continuity in the child's life. The school does not provide it. Children move from grade to grade and leader to teacher. Thus there is no one in the system who knows a child and follows his development. In the case of emotionally disturbed youngsters some continuity may be provided by the school psychologist, for high school students the guidance counselor partly fills this function, but by and large the school expects the family to follow through the crises of his development. If the family breaks down then no one is filling this function. Nonetheless, it does not automatically follow that this should be the school's responsibility.

Another participant argued that while this need not be the school's responsibility the school is one of the few institutions in which the child does move from one phase of growth to another. While the school denies responsibility for socialization in terms of emotional growth and says this is the family's function there is a growing body of evidence that suggests the family is not taking this responsibility either. The question is who is assuming it: peer groups? family service institutions? recreation groups? There is a new kind of social system which has already come into being relevant to the socialization of children about which we do not have adequate information.

It was suggested that perhaps the most continuous contact a child has is with peer groups, but this depends on the mobility of the family. If this is so, and impressionistic evidence suggests it, then this is a new development in human society, as is the discontinuity between generations that this represents. However, the quality of peer group interaction leaves much to be desired in many directions. Apart from the question of quality there is also the empirical question of what happens to youngsters who aren't involved in peer groups.

Horton pointed out that we know a good deal more about peer groups at the adolescent level than in preadolescence. But presumably peer group interaction goes back much earlier, particularly in slum environments. Here children are on the streets at two or so. School and parents in such environments blame each other for the child's conduct, as, for example among Puerto Ricans, and expect each other to enforce discipline, but in fact neither has control over the child whose real life is in the street. It is street culture that he is learning and we need to know a good deal more about this culture. Horton suggested that street culture develops anti-school attitudes which have to be attacked or transformed before you can get the children to function well in school.

Another speaker took issue with some of these negative evaluations of peer groups. He suggested that peer society serves to redress many of the school's limitations particularly for the urban child. While the school is motivated to attack the peer society it does so with possibly great cost to the child, particularly the lower class child, since it is in the peer group where he has much of his identity.

Horton responded by noting that we really need to know much more about the possibilities and functions of such groups. However, in general he felt that there was a strong anti-social element running through them that is the necessary result of life in the streets.

A final comment on peer groups suggested that observations among adolescents who were not in urban slum situations showed that peer groups help in school work. This help system is a positive contribution of such groups and is good but the school defines such help as cheating and dishonesty since teachers use this work to rate individual performance.

Horton then turned to an examination of the implication if schools are viewed as part of a total system which includes the family and other institutions for education of the poor. He suggested that there is a real change occuring in the ground roles of education today. Traditionally, schools have operated on a laissez-faire policy in that children were provided with educational opportunities which they could accept or reject. The unmotivated or unfit were eliminated at various stages of the process. But now we are saying that we are going to educate lower class children. This is new and has profound implications, despite the fact that we will probably settle for symbolic victories. Since education is only partly carried out by the school, the family and community are also filling educational functions and schools have no control over these. In the middle class schools there is a shared culture between parent and teacher and thus children are prepared for classroom participation. One question we need to look at is just what do middle class families do to prepare their children for school. Another speaker suggested that we likewise need to examine what lower class families do for their youngsters. If schools really mean to educate then we are talking about a redistribution of enculturation and socialization functions as between school and family. We must either change the family structure or school's must take on a greater part of the family's share of the educative process. The Head Start program tries to do the latter and a logical progression would be residential schools. Conant, if you read him carefully, is really talking about changing the family culture; what he says amounts to a mass adult education program. In line with this, one speaker noted that in Washington, D.C., the precursors of the Head Start program are now insisting that parents become part of the process and it is becoming an adult education program.

Several participants either disagreed with or supplemented Horton's conception of the commitment of the school to educating. It was suggested that perhaps there has not really been a change in commitment but rather that we are altering the point at which people are permitted to drop out.

Another speaker suggested that schools in the past accepted the responsibility for Americanization. This was a commitment to educating and not merely a laissez-faire policy accompanied by certification.

Still another participant argued that what Horton is describing is true not just for the lower classes but is extending throughout the school system. Thus, the American college before 1900 had a laissez-faire theory in which students learned from their own activities from contacts with professors, and from participation in literary societies, debates and so forth. Now the college is so organized that they force students into being educated. The success of this is questionable. It was suggested that the problem is precisely that you can't force students to be educated. Finally it was noted that the schools themselves have never been equipped to educate; they have only been equipped to identify the points at which various people drop out. When you attempt to force education you get opposition between institutions and students and students view this process as an obstacle to learning.

The group also dealt with the question of the complexity of the school when viewed as a system of action and the problems this poses for conceptualization and research. Horton pointed to a number of forces impinging on the school: Community factions, parents, professional associations of teachers, principals and the like at both the community, state and national level, accreditation agencies and so forth. He suggested that it is exceedingly difficult to conceptualize a system this complex since ordinary sociological categories cannot be used. To understand the system one must take into account these features. One participant asked if a study of schools could be likened to industrial sociological studies of the factory. Horton felt it could not since in the schools one is concerned with content as well as social groupings while in the factory the focus is on the formal and informal structure in so far as this defines acceptable levels of productivity and attitudes towards authority. Moreover, the boundaries of any activity system extend further out from the school than they do from the factory. For example, when one does industrial research it is generally not necessary to carry the analysis into the family; when one does school research it is. Thus the factory is more of a closed system.

Another speaker suggested a possible similarity with possible analogy of medical sociology and noted that criticisms made of nursing care are similar to those made of teachers and teacher training. Horton argued that even studies of mental hospitals do not have to take into account as many different activity systems ramifying into the community as do school studies. Perhaps they should but in the studies he has encountered this has not been done. Possibly this is a matter of where you focus. If, for example you study a particular ward the situation may be different than if you studied the hospital as a whole.

The group then turned to an examination of some of the forces impinging on the school and to a consideration of the degree of local autonomy over education. With reference to teacher-student control over classroom activities and curriculummit was suggested that individual teachers have little control over curriculum which is decided on by the Board. They can elaborate and embellish but they must cover a set program. As an example of one of the forces limiting the teacher's control over curriculum Horton cited an incident observed by Harry Gracey, a sociologist working in his project. One teacher decided that the coverage of a "Know the World" study unit was too superficial and elected to spend the semester covering one world area in greater detail. However she was unable to do so because students in other classes made fun of her youngsters for being caught up on one area and not knowing the rest of the world.

Just as teachers have little control over curriculum local communities have little opportunity to innovate or to plan schools in non-traditional ways. In New Jersey for example communities must follow one of two plans for establishing a Board of Education and each plan is worked out by the state in very precise detail. In addition to state requirements which limit autonomy there is also the role of the Middle States Association. This group has considerable power to determine what goes on in the schools because of its accreditation function. In the community studied by Horton there was a conflict between the principal of the High School and the Board. When the Board tried to force the addition of a course over the principal's objections he wrote to the Middle States Association. They in turn sent a note to the Board indicating disapproval of a Board which overrides a principal and threatening loss of accreditation. Such incidents as this show the degree to which the local system is tied to state and national systems and indicated quite clearly that communities are losing control over their schools. The only real local control today is over the budget. Perhaps this is the reason for the intensity of emotions generated over tax and school budget issues.

However, it was suggested that once a minimal educational program was established which meets state and national standards room was left for some local variation and control over educational frills, i.e., anything that goes beyond the minimal requirements. Horton agreed with this qualification and proceeded to describe some of the community factions and conflicts in Brookview. There is an almost equal division between Protestants, Catholics and Jews in this community and Brookview likewise has both blue and white collar workers. Much of the arguments over educational policy is fought along these lines. In general the Protestants and Jews want special education and evaluate the system in terms of the number of graduates admitted to good colleges; Catholics and some blue collar workers oppose this. The school system actually represents a compromise. Quarrels are prevented from tearing the system apart by a number of factors including a shared commitment to the importance of education. This commitment coupled with a complex symbolic system and periodic rituals keep the conflict minimized and prevents the schools from being torn apart.

However, Horton noted teachers play on this conflict for their own ends. Economically Brookview is right in the middle between higher and lower income suburbs. Teachers point to salary increases in the higher income areas and suggest that if Brookview drops behind they will lose their better teachers to these communities. This places pressure on the area to raise salaries, particularly since they are desirous of attracting and retaining teachers from the "better" colleges and from Upper Middle Income groups. Such an approach implies that teachers can be scaled by quality, that the better the teacher the higher the pay. One participant raised the question of whether this relationship of community income and teacher salary might not mean that communities were matched with teachers of similar socio-economic class backgrounds.

The question of the perceived and idealized relationship of school to politics was also discussed. It was suggested that there may be regional differences, particularly between the North and South in terms of the manner in which political processes are worked out with respect to the schools. Where there was a strong feeling in New Jersey that partisan politics should be kept out of the school system this is apparently not true in much of Kentucky and elsewhere in the South. One suggestion was that these differences might be recent, and connected with the question of segregation. However, another speaker noted that in New Mexico there is a sharp cleavage between Spanish-Americans who traditionally regard the school system as legitimate political power and newcomers representing the Puritan ethic who feels much like the people of Brookfield with reference to the separation of school and politics. Finally it was suggested that these different views of politics and the school might relate to differential interest in obtaining federal funds for schools.

Horton pointed out that despite the widely held view that schools should be kept out of politics there is in fact a school political system described above. While separate from the official state and county systems and from organized political parties, it is nonetheless partisan in so far as different factions and interest groups define the good of children differently. Since schools are exposed to pressures from numerous community groups, outside organizations, professional associations and the like one function of the system is to arrive at compromises between these forces. School politics can be very bitter. As an example of the intensity of feeling he noted that at one meeting at which there was much argument a school trustee died from a heart attack.

The question of local autonomy was also discussed in relation to the moves to consolidate schools in the Mid West. Much consolidation has already taken place at the elementary school level and there is now pressure to consolidate high schools. The pressure for this comes from economic considerations and from arguments that schools cannot do a good job within certain cost boundaries without consolidation. Commenting on this another noted that in planning consolidation and estimating costs no one ever evaluates what happens to the child. The considerations rather are how many children can be cared for in one schoolroom by one teacher. With consolidation communities have even less control, particularly since school district lines often have no relationship to the community. The inability of the local community to control education is clearly shown in numerous instances when there has been much opposition to consolidation which has proved to be largely ineffective.

The group then turned to a consideration of some of the defensiveness of the schools. One speaker noted that in considering the school as a system we have thus far assumed or implied that the various forces acting on schools each have positive motivation in so far as they are trying to accomplish something. However in any system there is also much negative motivation: fear of negative evaluation, job loss, fear of sense of failure or inadequacy and the like. This anxiety creates a series of defense mechanisms, some individual, and some institutionalized. These mechanisms can be called the culture of the school and many serve to prevent communication and action. It was suggested that when we treat schools as a system we must look at it in its negative as well as positive sense.

Horton agreed and noted that the characteristic self-protection of the schools results from the fact that they are constantly under attack by various forces. Parents feel they have the right to intervene to protect their children, political and commercial establishments, patriotic groups and the like all want to get their message into the schools. The defensiveness of teachers and the secrecy of the classroom is one aspect of this. Another speaker suggested that this is also part of the problem of access, the fear among educators that they are not doing their job properly. In line with this Horton noted that teachers who could not control their classes did not permit observors in. These were the teachers who based their relationship with their children on personal not professional grounds--they wanted their children to love them. The teachers who welcomed observors were those who were real craftsmen. They were impersonal and they had organized their classes in the first few weeks into a well defined social system with clear roles, each child being given a particular task. As a result this went smoothly and they could spend their energies teaching. It was noted that interestingly enough most innovations are directed at those teachers who are most competent. But this requires that they change the organization of their classes. As a result innovation may become a threat to their sense of craftsmanship and if it threatens their control over their classes they are apt to reject it. Considering the question of control one participant noted that in schools she had studied one way to handle children who were troublemakers was to so organize the classes on a grade that some were comprised largely or entirely of rejects: truants, hold-overs, disciplinary problems and the like. In this school children who were difficult were transferred to such classes. Horton said that this did not occur in Brookview where there were only two classes on a grade. However if a child could not get along with one teacher he was transferred to the other class. Apart from this children were assigned randomly.

Another speaker questioned this randomness of assignment. He noted that in his experience while people said they sorted randomly in fact they so divided children that all troublemakers were assigned to the newer teachers. Horton then qualified his statement by noting that the school here was so small that the principal knew all the children and could assign them to the teachers whom he thought they might get along with. A number of participants offered examples from their experience on how new teachers were assigned more difficult and troublesome youngsters. It was also noted that in Manhattan in order to keep middle class youngsters in public schools of mixed Negro and white composition the school offers white parents the special facilities of a class for Intellectually Gifted Children. They keep one such class on each grade and assign all white children regardless of grades to this class.

Occasionally if a white student is very poor he may be put down into the next highest class on the grade but not below that. It was suggested that this sorting and assigning of troublesome youngsters to new teachers serves to enculturate her and fit her into the system. Thus a beginning teacher may come into the school with many new ideas but she is kept so busy organizing the class that she has no opportunity to introduce new techniques.

WHEN MOST TEACHERS BECOME OBSOLETE: SOME PROBLEMS FOR SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

YEHUDI A. COHEN

1

The procedures by which a society seeks to transform a new person into a cultured being is usually referred to as socialization or enculturation. There are many ways in which this is accomplished in every society, one of which is by education. Education is thus only one part of socialization; the former is the inculcation of standardized and stereotyped knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes by means of standardized and stereotyped procedures. There are standardized and stereotyped educational procedures in all cultures, ranging from the repetitive rendition of lore and myth by grandparents to grandchildren around an open fire in a crude shelter to the stereotyped instructions of large groups of students by non-kinsmen in elaborate and permanent buildings in contemporary societies. In other words, education is part of the socialization of children in all societies.

However, societies differ greatly in the proportion of education to socialization generally. In some societies, especially in the least advanced, relatively little time is devoted to education, and most of the socialization of the individual takes place in on-going and

and spontaneous interaction with parents, siblings, kinsmen, and other members of the community. In these societies, most attitudes, values, motivations, controls of impulses, cognitive processes, and the like, are shaped in the course of daily and routine activities, both within and outside the household.

In contemporary industrial nation-states, on the other hand, more socialization of the individual takes place in an educational setting -- that is, by standardized and stereotyped procedures for inculcating standardized and stereotyped knowledge -- than ever before in history. Another way of saying this is that never before in history have so many children spent so much time so far away from their parents, socially, physically, and emotionally, from so early an age as they do now.

As cultures become more and more complex, a person's relatives -- including his parents -- teach him a progressively smaller proportion of the total amount of knowledge that he is supposed to accumulate during his formative years. Not only do parents teach their children less and less with every advance in cultural complexity, but the culture in one way or another actively discourages parental education of their children, especially after puberty. This is often referred to as the secularization of socialization. Professional moralists err when they assert that parents have been abdicating their responsibilities to their children in the educational sphere broadly conceived. It is not that parents today have less to teach their children; it is that the culture provides fewer and fewer mechanisms for them to do so. This is beyond conscious and deliberate control. But it is just this situation which makes extra-familial -- but especially educational -- institutions so important in the psychological, as well as intellectual, growth of children and adolescents.

This is consonant with the evolution of education in relation to the rest of culture across the span of human history; it is also congruent with the dominant orientations of the value-systems of contemporary industrial nation-states, especially in respect to the de-emphasis of kinship relationships, traditionalism, close and enduring personal ties, and increased uniformity throughout the society in place of regional, ethnic, class, and other subcultural differences.

My concern in this paper is more with the future than with the present. I do not discount the importance of problems of the present in connection with education. They are many; but one possible way of sharpening our focus on problems of the present is by looking to the future, by determining what we have to learn from the present in order to cope with the problems of the future. Furthermore, an evolutionary perspective with regard to problems of education requires that we not only look backward but to the future as well, because past, present, and future have meaning only in terms of each other. Our educational institutions -- their successes and their problems -- have not only come from somewhere in cultural history, but they are also going somewhere. The nature of these directions should be one of our concerns.

II

I am going to discuss the possibility that, with a few exceptions, teachers will soon become obsolete and, correlatively, that many of our educational institutions will undergo drastic change. I neither rue nor applaud these prospects; instead, I want to consider them here as possible facts of life in the not too distant future.

Among the many things that anthropologists know with certainty, one stands out above all others. This is that social orders and their parts grow, flourish, ebb, and die; these processes are part of the sustentation and preservation of life. To be shocked at the notion that most teachers will become obsolete and that many of our educational institutions will change radically -- perhaps by the time that this century is out -- or to try to prevent these from happening is to display attitudes toward social change that might have been appropriate several centuries ago but which are maladaptive in the latter years of the 2oth century. We can understand the consternation of the medieval peasant, for example, when he saw his world change, as, for example, in connection with the introduction of schools as substitutes for apprenticeship and education at home. It is natural when people are upset when the basic structure of their role relations undergoes upheaval. But the experience is made more painful -- as it was for the medieval peasant -- when there is hardly any sense of history, when men have hardly any way of understanding that part of the natural order of the universe is for civilizations to come and go rather uniformly. But we in the 20th century, especially those of us who study these things, know that change is not unnatural or catastrophic.

I will not be concerned here with the future technology of education. That is, I will not address myself to such questions as the roles of radio, television, communications satellites, programmed instruction, and the like, in the educational procedures of the future. Instead, I want to discuss some of the implications of this technology in anthropological terms. Specifically, I want to explore, and stimulate some discussion of, the consequences of the replacement of teachers by other media in terms of the total institutional structure of society and in terms of the goals that society has for the shaping of the personalities of its growing members.

There is no professional or intellectual chauvinism in the assertion that anthropologists are among the best equipped to begin this exploration. In terms of the desiderata for opening this area for systematic inquiry, it goes without saying that we have the concepts that are necessary for analyzing the relationship of one set of institutional changes to other parts of the social system. At the same time, however, we have to make some important conceptual shifts in line with the altered reality with which we will be concerned. For example, an important part of our intellectual armamentarium is composed of concepts that center around roles and role relations: kinsmen, headmen and leaders, rulers, traders, priests and shamans, innovators, cooperators and competitors, teachers, and the like. These will continue to be important categories in anthropology, but cultures and civilizations in the future will present some problems that will not be amenable to analysis in terms of the conceptual categories currently available to us. For example, such variables as student-teacher relations, the school itself, teacher-parents relations, the relationship of educational institutions to local communities, and the like, might be non-existent in the social systems of the future, or they might exist in very different forms, and the techniques that we now have for analyzing education in relation to the rest of the culture might turn out to be wholly inappropriate.

The eventual obsolescence of most teachers is congruent with the sweep, directions, and goals of the evolution of social organization generally and of the evolution of educational institutions in particular. There are several correlates of social evolution in general. The first is the tendency for the centers of power and control to become increasingly remote from the individual in social as well as physical space at successive levels of cultural development. Second, these loci of power and control embrace increasingly larger numbers of people and wider territorial areas at successive levels of cultural growth. Third, the individual, at each succeeding stage of social evolution, becomes tied to -- and comes to feel that his fate depends on -- more inclusive socio-political systems. Thus, among others, the Youngs observe that "the sequence which communities seem to follow as they develop their component institutions . . . is always unidimensional, cumulative, and appears to lead in the direction of greater participation in the national social structure, regardless of the political ideology that may be present" (Young and Young n.d.: 23).

There is one other aspect of the evolution of social organization generally that is relevant here. The bedrock of social evolution is the harnessing by society of increasingly efficient systems of extrapersonal energy: oxen and plows, fertilizer, irrigation systems and water to drive machines, gas, electronic systems, and the like. Disregarding for the nonce the reasons that these technological advances play such a central role in evolution, there is a more particular aspect of this that needs to be kept in mind, namely, that as soon as an energy-system is introduced into a society, it very quickly loses its status as a luxury and becomes a necessity. It not only becomes necessary to individuals -- as sources of greater comfort, pleasure, efficiency, health, and the like -- but, more importantly, it becomes a necessity to the total society and its organization. That is, taking the view that every technology is also a particular type of social system, the introduction and acceptance of an efficient energy-system will lead to the development of institutions to which the energy-system is indispensable. Thus, for example, contemporary advanced electronics -- that is, the direction and control of mechanical processes by electronic means -- does not directly affect daily household and individual activities, except indirectly. Despite this, however, there are already many institutions in the society to which electronic systems are indispensable. Eventually, and often very rapidly, such energy-systems become essential to a vast number of technological and non-technological institutions. The current instrusion of electronics into our educational institutions are mere premonitions; we have not yet reached the point at which they are indispensable, but we will quite soon.

Cutting across these aspects of evolution generally are the evolutions of particular institutions. Like most other institutions that are universal to human society, education has followed a very consistent path of development from the most primitive to the most complex levels of social organization. In the evolution of culture, as well as in the individual's life history, education begins as a household activity. That is, at both the individual and cultural levels, the socialization and culturalization of the individual begin as concerns of his parents, older siblings, and other members of the household. When groups begin to grow in size, when they become sedentary and develop corporateness in kin relations beyond the nuclear-family household, the shaping of personality and the transmission of knowledge are often made the responsibilities of kinsmen outside the household, in addition to those within the household. The rule that it is incumbent upon certain kinsmen to help socialize and educate a child is not randomly distributed among societies. Instead, it is closely tied to some of the dominant value orientations of the society, especially those dealing with the sense of responsibility, identity, and social-emotional anchorage (Cohen 1964). In other words, when technological advances make it possible for societies to develop kin-group corporateness, the value-systmes of these societies undergo corresponding changes; inevitably, there are commensurate changes in the educational systmes of these societies. Specifically, these changes in education, _inter alia_, involves the first instances in the history of human culture in which the education of children includes non-members of their households.

With every further advance in technology and development of effective extra-personal energy-systems, social organizations display increasing sedentation and the creation of more inclusive socio-political systems. What this means in terms of individual experience, among other things, is that the sources of socio-political control become further removed from the individual and the household in social space. Commensurately, there are important developments in the educational sphere, as in the emergence of "bush-schools" in advanced horticultural West African societies and the creation of formal school systems in agricultural civil-state societies. That is, paralleling these socio-political changes are greater distances between the household and the loci of education and socialization.

Unless we repeat the errors of the Victorian armchair anthropologists (and others) who naively assumed that their civilization represented the climax of all cultural growth, we have to conclude that these tendencies are locked into human evolution and will continue. That is, we have no alternative but to accept the premise that educative activities and the sources of instruction will continue to become increasingly distant in social as well as physical space from the household and from matrixes of kinship.

I do not think that many people know what our educational systems are going to look like in 35 years, to say nothing of what they will be made of a century after that. The engineers can probably give us much factual information as well as some hints. Hence, we can no longer exclude them from any conversations about our educational institutions any more than city planners can disregard the information that demographers are uncovering. This is reality; and if the students of sociocultural reality (that is, the social scientists) disregard it, they invite the follies and bogeys of the fundamentalists to supplant reason. I will return to this below.

III

It is a commonplace that we live in an age of science; part of this age is social science, the understanding by scientific means of man and his works, as one part of nature. When viewed within the context of all science and its relationship to the rest of the culture of which it is a part, this has important implications and consequences.

To most people, the statement that we live in an age of science brings to mind such things as explorations in outer space, advances in contraception, accelerators, briefer flying times to scholarly conferences, surgical and chemical therapies, and the like. While these subjects are usually (or at least popularly) referred to as "science," they are discoveries. But the general confusion of technology with science is not due only to misunderstandings about the nature of science. It is also, at least in part, a reflection of our culture's definition of science, namely, that it has technological implications and consequences, This is not to say that science and technology should be commingled in the same persons, but only that neither is wholly independent of the other.

Partly as a result of the popular tendency to equate the logico-deductive method with ingenious faucets, social scientists have enjoyed an enviable tenure of insularity. But the terminal date for this detachment is probably nearer for us than for many of the non-social sciences, and we must now -- more urgently than ever before -- consider the nature of the technological implications and consequences of our social sciences. There are several recent developments that point to this needfulness. One of these has been the quiet proliferation of governmental laboratories devoted almost exclusively to the exploration of the socio-psychological consequences of politically directed technological choices and innovations. Another, among others, is the recently established Department of Housing and Urban Development which, it is to be hoped, will concern itself as much with problems of education as with other questions. But do we want to leave these explorations in the hands of government exclusively?

One aspect of man's uniqueness is that his adaptation -- the maintenance and perpetuation of life -- is no longer governed by mutation and natural selection, in the sense of forces in which man's actions are not involved. Instead, his adaptation is almost exclusively governed by the cultural capacities that he is able to achieve. Science is an integral part of the cultures of modern societies; hence, it is one of the instruments or sub-systems of human adaptation.

It is because science is part of man's cultural adaptation that it inevitably converges with technology. Adaptations cannot remain at the level of theory and insight for very long; by their nature, they demand applications. This is an aspect of the inevitability of cultural processes, and it should obtain in connection with the social sciences as well as with the other sciences. I am not going to belabor the point, which I have discussed elsewhere (Cohen 1966) that the social sciences do not have to try to use the same quantitative procedures as the natural sciences in order to achieve confidence in their findings. What I would like to develop in this paper is the idea that social scientists have to come out of hiding from their self-proclaimed innocense and face the fact that their obligations to their culture are similar to those of their scientific brethren who work with test tubes, telescopes, and accelerators. In other words, we have got to start thinking about the applied consequences of social science. We have got to do this, especially in regard to education, because the kinds of people that are produced by the society are more and more the products of our educational institutions.

This is more than a matter of jobs for an ever-increasing number of graduate students or of elaborate projects designed to demonstrate that even lower-class people do not enjoy being poor. It means that we must try to free ourselves from the mental and intellectual sets that develop expertise in fighting brush fires and grasping at sparks that happen to be within easy reach. It means, as I mentioned earlier, that we have to start talking with the engineers who are going to provide the technology of our educational institutions of the future, so that we know what problems to concern ourselves with in connection with value-systems, with learning without always having live teachers with whom to identify, with problems in communication, and the like; it means that we have to start talking with the animal ecologists and biochemists who have been doing exciting work in connection with the physiological and social-psychological effects of overcrowding; the latter also means that social scientists will have to start talking with architects as well as city planners who can give some clues about the housing of educational institutions; it means that we are going to have to start talking seriously with neurologists, physiologists, psychoanalysts of children, and others, who can tell the social scientists and the engineers what the effects are of teaching intellectual skills to children at different ages. Is there any evidence, for example, for the contention that recent fads for teaching children to read at two years will produce a group of quasi-human zombies?

I am not making a plea for the re-creation of the "inter-disciplinary" rage of the post-World War II era. If what I am suggesting -- though this is far from being original with me -- requires an appellation, it might be called "non-disciplinary research." More specifically, what I am suggesting is that our inquiries into structures of social relations, systems of values, motivational and cognitive orientations, creativity, the processes of learning, the consequences of education, and the like, can no longer be divorced from technological developments and innovations, or from "hardware." The language, concepts, and techniques that we have been using for the exploration of the correlates of educational systems, for example, among the Australian aborigines, West African societies that have "bush schools," pre-historic civil-state societies with elaborate systems of formal education, or even contemporary American education, provide essential base-lines and hypotheses for an understanding of the future directions to be taken by our educational institutions. But they are insufficient; they require vast expansion. And we will not be able to do this unless we know what the realities of the future are going to be.

In saying that I am not asking for a resurrection of "interdisciplinary" research, I mean that I am not asking for teams of scientists from different disciplines to cross-fertilize each other by working together on the same problems. Instead, what we do need is for different disciplines to present problems to each other. For example, what is necessary is for engineers to tell us what the technology of education in the future will be, and for us to try and anticipate the consequences in sociocultural terms; we might then be able to go back to the engineers and ask whether it would be possible for them to make some modifications or innovations that could produce somewhat different social consequences. Similar conversations could -- and should -- be held between engineers and child psychologists, and the like.

One facet of the realities of the future, as suggested, will be the obsolescence of most teachers. I do not think that teachers will disappear entirely from the organization of labor, but that only the best, the most stimulating, and the most exciting will find pedagogical employment. The others will be drawn into managerial positions, programming, syllabus preparation, testing, and the like. Why should not a graduate seminar be made up of a professor in Accra, if he is the best in his discipline, and one student in each of ten other cities throughout the world, each with his own consolidated transistor-powered receiver and transmitter -- all of which could fit easily into his attache-case? Why should not a national American university make available the stimulation and lecture material of the world's leading authority in a particular subject to all undergraduates who wish to learn from him? It will. Now the question is, what are we -- as scientists concerned with the relationship of education to the culture -- going to do to help the society prepare for such eventualities?

As is generally known, most technological innovations are generally made available at first to the more provileged members of society; a derivative of this is that most social privileges -- such as formal education -- are usually first made available to the upper strata and then filter down to the lower. Correlatively, we can assume — though such a hypothesis will need checking with engineers and others -- that the radical technological innovations in education that will make most teachers obsolete will occur first at the university and college levels; shortly afterward, they will begin to filter down to the high-school, elementary, and nursery-school levels.

IV

Teachers do more than teach skills and inculcate knowledge. I would like to discuss two things that teachers do as examples of some of the areas that require investigation. The two are closely related, but they have to be conceptualized separately.

First, since people -- but especially children -- identify with those who teach them, among others, what models for identification will replace teachers in the classroom? Second, and intimately related to the first, teachers in personalized education provide students at all ages with models for coping with cultural change and stability. They do this in a variety of ways, as Margaret Mead described in her essay on The School in American Culture, as have many others. In a teacher's commitment to the ethics and manners of a middle-class world, in the particular conformities that are rewarded and the dissents that are punished, in the values that receive constant reinforcement -- for example, "boys of your class are born to rule" -- or the values that they are taught to reject and despise so that they will feel alienated from their immigrant or lower-class parents, and in many other ways, the impressionable student is provided with myriad techniquest for coping with rapid change.

But these models are not only provided in the classroom. An important extension of the personalized teacher's podium is his office where, especially in high school and college, the student often learns how to think about the materials that are taught in the classroom, as by trying new ideas and alternative interpretations with his teachers. However infrequently the latter happens, it is nevertheless part of the educational institution; it is a potential resource. What will replace it? For example, every year, at about the same time, groups of students from my introductory-anthropology class come to my office to try to resolve their personal feelings with what they have just learned about the relationship of religion to social organization. It usually takes hours for me to try to make clear that rational understanding is one thing, while taking a personal stand is quite another; it is not easy to explain to them the concept that understanding human culture does no mean that one is unaffected by it. There is never time to explore this fully in a classroom. What will replace this when the gadfly who generates the turmoil by means of his lecture material is hundreds of miles away and is teacher to thousands of students simultaneously?

When most teachers become obsolete, it will be the rare and lucky student who will have contact with teachers on a sustained basis. (An interesting thing to speculate about is whether this privilege will be distributed along the lines of social class.) For most students, there will be few teachers of flesh and blood and distinctive quirks with whom to identify. Now, this is not a question of whether a student can identify with a machine or with a person mediated by a machine. Instead, the relevant question from a social-scientific point of view is the implications of these developments for the nature and structure of role relations in society. That is, what kind of social system will be maintained by those people who will be taught and molded by an educational system in which there are very few teachers? Since there will probably be very few teachers, and since the sources of instruction will generally be extremely distant from the students themselves, there will probably be little need for schools as we know them today. What kind of social system will be maintained -- or maintainable -- by people who grow up without the classroom peer groups that have come to play such an important role in our textbooks of developmental psychology?

By the structure of social relations I mean the organization of kin relations and the relations among kinsmen in decision-making processes within and outside the household; the division of labor, which will be one of the thorniest problems in the social system that I am talking about, because jobs in general will be terribly scarce and entirely new standards for the allocation of livelihoods -- and, therefore, motivations to work -- will have to be developed; the structure and nature of authority, the maintenance of stability and the control of change; legal and administrative relationships; religious organization; patterns of stratification; relationships between parents and children and between spouses, and the like. Thus, in the structure of social relationships of the future in which a new educational system will play a dominant part, what will be the role and place of the dissenter and of the intellectual innovator, of the artist, of the entrepeneur?

V

In seeking to determine the relative influences of the culture and the educational system on each other, there is a strong possibility that the educational system will play a much stronger role in the culture as a whole than ever before. This is not a question of the tail wagging the dog, but rather of an abrupt shift in the nature of the integrating forces of society. In some research that I am currently conducting on the determinants of some aspects of personality functioning, especially in respect to certain cognitive processes, it is becoming clear that prior to the development of certain advanced forms of political organization, the influences of the economic system are among the most important of these determinants. However, there does come a point in the evolution of human culture at which there is an important shift in the relative influence of economic and political organization, at which the political stucture of society assumes a position of dominance or primacy in the structuring of man's mind. This principle of social organization is also being borne out in investigations that I am conducting of the correlates of sexual controls and of other spheres of institutionalized activity.

I mention these investigations in order to point out that there is empirical evidence for the principle that there are orderly and regularly recurring shifts in the integrating or determining principles of social organization. There is a possibility that we are on the brink of another shift of this sort, from the primacy of the political organization as an integrating force in the total social system to the primacy -- or at least equality -- of the educational system as the source of integrating forces in the society.

This is best understood in historical perspective. I mentioned earlier that one context within which educational processes are understandable is that they begin as a household function and then, correlative with the evolution of social organization generally, move steadily away from the household to increasingly distant nexuses. I also observed that the first remove of education from the household is the wider grouping of kinsmen. For reasons that are too complex to go into at this time, but which should be fairly apparent, education is removed from the context of kinship when the orientations of social relations in general move from a kinship base to a non- or anti-kinship foundation.

Now, if we look back into our own cultural heritage, we are able to observe a clear recapitulation of these tendencies. Starting at around the 15th century, Western European education began its shift from kin-oriented apprenticeship to schools, that is, to non-kin based education. While such education was a privilege of the upper social strata of the society, what is important is that it was these classes that were among the first to make the transition from kin-oriented social relations to those based on non-kinship. Non-kin formal education filtered down to the other social strata as the pressures for non-kin-based social relations generally made themselves felt at those social-class levels. We have been observing extensions of this principle recently in American society, as well as in others in the Western tradition, in attempts to make secular education increasingly available to class and caste groups that the society is also trying to integrate meaningfully into the total socio-political order. In other words, every society's educational system -- like its socialization generally -- is in the service of its dominant value orientations.

(In this connection, I would like to interject one observation. It has become fashionable recently to indict our educational systems for imposing extreme pressures on students for conformity, rather than encouraging individualized forms of expressiveness. In other words, many indictments assume explicitly or implicitly that our contemporary schools are not doing their jobs properly. I suggest that these critics have missed the boat entirely. What they should be criticizing our educators for -- if that is their principal intent -- is that they are doing their jobs so effectively. As our society becomes increasingly integrated and politically uniform, socio-political conformity in its broadest sense becomes a major goal of the social order. The educational institutions of society are instruments of the socio-political order, and if they are to be criticized, it is for being such effective instruments.)

Looked at in the context of the total history of human culture, the educational systems of societies have served their purposes admirably. Hence, our educational institutions are now in a position to be re-cast in their relationships to the total society.

I hypothesize that educational institutions will be promoted from the status of handmaiden of the other spheres of social organization to mistress of the house, or at least very close to that position. And this is one sense in which our educational system is in crisis. It is in crisis because it is becoming one of the prime movers in social change and stability, but it is unprepared to cope with its own consequences.

As I noted at the outset of this discussion, our educational institutions have assumed a position of primacy in shaping people's humanity to an extent rarely known before in human history. Our educational system is already producing a type of person rarely known in earlier societies -- rationalistic, controlled, untraditional and committed to change and innovation, relatively free of demons and other supernaturals -- and this too will increase as more people are exposed to more formal education for longer periods of time. But can we say with certainty that these consequences will remain the same, increase, or decrease in the technology of the future, when most teachers become obsolete? Increasingly in contemporary society, social policy -- especially with respect to change -- is being affected by the heavy recruitment of consultants and experts from the universities by industry, commerce, and government. This too will increase in the future. Do we know anything about the effects of this on our present educational system? Correlatively, can we make any projections about the effects of educators' roles in social policy on education in the future?

The occupants of very few institutions are able to describe the consequences of their institutional behavior. Thus, for example, most people living in the socially isolated and independent nuclear-family household of our society are unable to describe the relationship of that institution to others in the social organization. Most lawyers are probably unable to describe the correlates of their profession in the spheres of religion, social stratification, kinship, and political organization. The same can be said for the occupants of most other institutions. This might betray some unwarranted idealism on my part, but I think that if any institution should be able to describe its own consequences and exert some measure of control over them, it is the educational sphere of society.

VI

Our task now is not to try to provide answers, but to ask questions. It is a difficult task, because we do not know what the questions are and we do not have any standards and methods for formulating them. Although, as social scientists we often pride ourselves for our abilities to pose questions, this is especially difficult in respect to the educational systems of the future. There are several reasons for this.

First, as citizens we do not relish the prospects of an entirely new social order with which we have no familiarity; as with anxiety, there is a natural tendency to avoid talking about it. Second, as specialists who rely on our minds, vocal chords, and abilities in personalized teaching, we cannot be expected to be overly eager about the imminence of the obsolescence of some of these skills in a large number of us. Third, as people with a natural bent that reacts negatively and instinctively toward centralized control over educational processes -- including automation of our industry and loss of intimacy with students and colleagues -- we cannot be expected to rush into the hastening of this. Fourth, many of us have been reared intellectually either to abhor applied anthropology or applied social science generally, or to assume that applied anthropology is meant for the introduction of fertilizers into peasant life, the introduction of health projects into reservations, or the establishment of chicken and rice cooperatives. The idea that applied anthropology will begin at home strikes a raw nerve in many of us, and we thus seem to convey the impression that by not asking relevant questions in this regard we will sheath the nerve. But to return to a point that I raised earlier, an age of science includes social science and this therefore means that we must begin to consider the technological or applied side of our scientific coinage. It also means that science will be less and less divorced from the realities of the social world and that our obligations to the society at large -- by simple dint of the fact that we have the knowledge, or should seek it -- will increase. Fifth, and closely related to some of the other factors that I have mentioned in this connection, most of us have been nurtured on a distaste for identifying with the centers of political power or for being identified with them. It has been possible for us to maintain this insularity in the United States for approximately 150 years. But the nature of social and political reality is going to change rapidly along lines that have already been spelled out clearly in our history. Specifically, the centralization of control, especially over education, is going to increase; this is consonant with, and is an extension of, the entire course of cultural history. There is hardly anything that can be done about this aspect of historical inevitability; but within the perimeters of it, we can try to bring to bear our knowledge and skills to help make people's lives more decent, more creative, and more enjoyable. The alternative is to leave the field open by default to the wielders of power.

What are some of the questions that we have to ask? First, what values that are currently the direct result of personalized education can also be instilled by programmed, automated, or impersonal education? Unfortunately, however, we do not know what values are the direct result of personalized formal education as against those that have their sources elsewhere in the social structure. For example, what effect does formal education today have on political values, religious attitudes, sexual behavior and impulsive life generally, attitudes toward change and stability, and the like? But it is only after we learn what these values are that we can begin to explore whether they can be instilled by the educational systems of the future.

Second, what values that are currently the direct results of personalized education cannot be instilled by relatively impersonal education? Third, assuming that there are values that cannot be instilled by the personalized educational systems of today, which of these can be produced by the educational procedures of the future? Fourth, what values cannot be instilled by any type of educational system? For example, there has been some public discussion recently over standards of personal honesty and dishonesty in contemporary American society. Is the frequency of personal dishonesty partly a result of the competition for grades and other perequisites of our contemporary educational system or is it an inherent part of the human condition, independently of any system of education?

At this point, because it is so relevant to the formulation of questions in the sphere of education, may I be permitted a plea. Let us think of children as children, and adolescents as adolescents, rather than as adults. There has been a disturbing tendency in many recent discussions, especially of adolescence, to apply adult standards to these youngsters; this has been especially true among sociologists, though no behavioral discipline has been wholly free of this. Many behavioral scientists speak of adolescents as though their aggressions, their sexuality, and their needs for privacy have the same sources and are expressed in the same ways as among adults. Many recent discussions of adolescence proceed on the implicit premise that pressures to conformity have the same psychological meanings for adolescents as they have for adults, and that these pressures to conformity have the same consequences for both. In fact, however, neither the adolescent's biological structure nor his ego -- to say nothing of his superego -- are adult. The adolescent's fear of impulses in himself and in others, his acute needs for externally imposed limits --which are different from those of either childhood or adulthood -- together with guides to confirmity, and his exquisite sensitivity to his own and others' feelings, set him off sharply from adults as well as from children. To assume, as many studies do, that he responds in the same way as adults is not only to miss the boat entirely in trying to comprehend adolescence, but it is also to accord the adolescent the grossest form of disrespect, because it denies his unique variety of humanity. And it also makes planning for education and other socialization very difficult, if not futile.

This leads to another type of question which, however, is not unrelated to the foregoing. What are the limits and potentials of the human equipment with respect to socialization generally and education in particular?

To concentrate for a moment on the limits, we have devoted very little systematic attention in our research to determining the extent of malleability and plasticity in human beings, although the work of such anthropologists as Jules Henry and Margaret Mead have provided significant baselines from which to proceed. Can we assume, for example, that the pliability of the human equipment has been fully tested by the variety of cultures already known to us, or must we -- as I think we must -- assume that there are socio-technological systems that, never having existed before, have not had the opportunity to tap, and thus become aware of, all possible dimensions of the human equipment? My earlier question as to whether teaching children to read at two years will produce quasi-human zombies obviously contains a hypothesis. Is the hypothesis correct; are there neurological and psychological data to support it, or are these only impressions? Why is there such a brief period during which musical ability must be nutured if a talented individual is to become a superior performer? Why does not the same hold true in connection with artistic ability? What can the answers to these questions tell us about human capacities for learning, productivity, creativity, plasticity, and the like, generally?

/ Let me cite another example in this connection. Assuming that education in the future is so completely governed by electronic and other processes that most teachers will be obsolete, it is also unlikely that we will have schools in the sense that we know them today. One of the many consequences of this is the possibility that young children will not have the kinds of play and peer groups that are such an important part of our contemporary patterns of socialization. I am certain that substitutions will be made in the social structure, as there always are when old forms become attenuated. Without considering the alternatives that might be adopted in the social structure, let us assume only that play and peer groups as we know them today will be absent and take this as a hypothetical set of conditions which constitute a set of independent variables.

The dependent variable in this problem is the nature of controls over impulses. It has been clearly established that people need limits and controls over their impulses. Most often, these limits are set by the social system. However, there are occasional instances in which limits are not set, for one reason or another. It has also been established that, in the absence of externally set limits, people will often set limits for themselves that are stricter and more rigid than any that are set by reference groups. Thus, for example, children growing up without the controls imposed by peer and play groups might tend to be stricter with themselves in imposing limits on their impulsive activities than their groups might have been.

For reasons that cannot be gone into here, but as is common knowledge, there has been considerable relaxation of proscriptive rules with respect to pre-marital sexual behavior during the last 15 or 20 years. While the amount of personal anxiety and conflict over such behavior has probably not lessened, young people have found much support -- and often pressure -- in their peer groups for permissive pre-marital sexual relationships. What will happen if there comes a time when we no longer have the kinds of schools that we have now and, therefore, the kinds of supportive and limit-setting peer groups that we have now for our growing youngsters? In the absence of limits set by these groups, will not people set their own limits, and thus much stricter limits? Will this not lead to a reactive sexual puritanism? I think it will; but do we have any hard data either to support or refute this hypothesis?

I would like to add one brief footnote to this hypothesis. I had the opportunity a few years ago to spell it out aloud for a large class of undergraduates at the University of Chicago, hardly a bastion of puritanism. When I finished, a hushed whisper swept across the lecture hall, "Thank God."

In conclusion, I have concentrated principally on questions with respect to values because these are some of the problems with which I have been most preoccupied in my research, and because they constitute one of the most important bridges between socialization generally and formal education in particular. Of equal importance are questions that deal with the nature of the learning process, motivation, intellectual experience and attitudes toward knowledge per se, the fate of creativity, insight, originality, and the like, in different educational systems. Also important is the relationship of the educational institutions of the future to local settings and communities. Other speakers will point to additional questions. Above all, what we need now are questions; these will dictate the necessary methodologies and will lead to the beginnings of answers. Another way of saying this is that the questions that we are able to ask in the next decade or so will reflect the courage of our disciplinary commitments.

COHEN SESSION - SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

The ensuing discussion covered a number of key issues, one of which concerned the type of educational institutions the future might hold. Contrary to Cohen's view of educational institutions reforming themselves into some sort of large broadcasting network one speaker suggested that collapse rather than increased centralization might be the coming trend. Drawing on biological and technological analogies he pointed out that the fossil record and the history of technology suggest that when forms grow too large and elaborate they become extinct. It was suggested that the school might be in just such a position. It too has grown large and unwieldy and has become so overelaborated and full of defenses that it will probably collapse of its own weight. Rather than the broadcasting system or extensive use of electronic communications which Cohen envisions as the educational system of the future a situation of collapse was predicted in which each student becomes his own school.

Under such conditions education would be different from what we know today. Emotionally "cool" environments would be created similar to those observed at Omar Moore's reading center at Yale. There students go into booths when they wish to read and the system is under the students' rather than the teacher's control. In the booth they work with machines which are absolutely dependable since they can only respond in one way and only to what the child puts into them. Thus the child is freed of concerns about teacher and student reactions; he controls the system and is able to learn without emotional tensions. If this is indeed the educational system of the future then we are moving to a situation where teachers will disappear and schools will cease to be coterminous with society.

In conjunction with such a technology the speaker suggested that we might develop a system of "education by appointment". When one examines the various needs a school serves and the reasons children go to school, several things stand out. They go to school for socialization and peer group participation; they go to school for personal consultation with teachers; they go to school to make use of special equipment and materials stored there.

If we cease to think of schools as custodial institutions and consider them as special purpose institutions similar to hospitals and the like it becomes apparent that part-time schooling is feasible. Children do not need all of the supervision and the numerous time consuming activities schools now provide. Indeed some of the best years a student may have is when schools are on split session since this leaves him time for personal pursuits.

Cohen disagreed with the collapse theory and argued against the applicability of biological and technological analogies to social phenomena. Rather he preferred to examine the course of cultural evolution and suggested that this might shed light on the future. Throughout culture history he discerns a trend in which the loci of power and control increasingly move from the family and domestic kin groups to more distant centers. He suggested that education will exhibit similar trends and that we are moving to a system where the sources and control of instruction and information are at increased distances from the individual. While the precise technology of the future is not known--and we need to consult with engineer, architects and the like to find out what they are planning--he envisions a system where children will withdraw into a room at home which will be equipped with a television screen or console or some such device. Such a system will have enormous impacts on children which at present we know nothing about. Such questions as the effect of no peer groups on children and the like need our consideration.

In the ensuing discussion it was pointed out that these views are not in fact contradictory. While we may have a situation in which each child is his own school there will also be increased centralization of control over education. The centralization comes in at the point of decision on what is taught, on what is electronically communication.

In connection with this emphasis on technology the recent development of large corporations such as ITT, IBM, and Time-Life entering the educational field was mentioned. These companies are building educational systems independent of political power and in competition with each other. Such competition involves the development of alternative systems of education in order to capture contracts. This situation was thought to be a radically new one, different from anything we have hitherto known.

While there was agreement on the importance of this development Cohen argued that it was not taking place independent of political power. Rather, the federal government and the corporations are in the service of each other. The government controls the airwaves and gives corporations access to them in order to disseminate information, it provides Job Corps contracts and the like. What we see now in corporate-governmental relationships is only a premonition of things to come. What we may see is a recapitulation of government-business ties in which government first encourages monopolistic cartels because it needs them and then breaks them up to maintain greater control. If we knew where to look we could see that the entrance of corporations into the educational field is not being carried on independent of political controls.

The entire issue of whether or not the electronic technology would have great impact on education was brought into question by another speaker. She suggested that the issue was not one of making predictions or asking what the impact would be but rather we need to ask how can we use the new technology to achieve what we wish to achieve? The real question is what are the alternatives for dealing with education, socialization, their various needs, in the context of a world-wide communications revolution.

Looking at the predictions centering around the impact of television when it was first introduced she suggested that perhaps we are facing an analagous situation here. Initially tremendous fears were generated around television but as the newness wore off and everyone began to accept it people ceased looking at the box all day and new patterns began to develop around television. Television became a new source for the reintegration of the family and did not have the radical impact which was initially feared. Perhaps the same thing will occur with the new educational technology. Mechanized communications can play a role in education and lead to some reorganization but so long as the needs of learning and the needs of sociability remain children will be brought together in schools. Thus we need to consider the nature of the human animal and human needs.

If we look at the human animal an educational system in which each child retires alone into a room to work with an electronic box does not seem probable. Throughout the course of evolution even antedating the appearance of man one feature stands out--the need for sociability. It is not in the nature of man to be so plastic as to change in the next hundred or even two or three hundred years. The continuing need for sociability will lead to the development of some sort of a school situation. Electronics may play a role but that is all. Not only must this need be taken into account but the nature of learning must also be considered in making prognostications about the future. All of the educational theories and educational experiments invariably have come back to this basic point, learning takes place in a laboratory situation. Thus children must be brought together into some sort of a school. Our educational institutions may be reformulated and reorganized but schools will not disappear.

The possibility of a restructured school was recognized by Cohen but he offered one reservations. He suggested that we really do not know the degree of sociability needed. What we think of as knowledge is really assumption since the levels of sociability observed are culturally induced and we do not know where the biological leaves off and the cultural begins.

The question of teacher obsolescence was also considered by the group. Many speakers disagreed with Cohen's prediction about the impending disappearance of teachers and suggested that the needs for personnel will continue. However, the teacher's role may change into something unrecognizable. The history of technology suggests that machines develop to replace routine activities and dumb jobs. They have a liberating effect. In education machines may remove teachers from routine retrieval tasks and thus increase their effectiveness. By enabling the teacher to get away from the subject matter she can better provide personal support for students and develop new relationships with them. Moreover, one of the most exciting developments that could arise out of the new technology would be a greater maturity given to children who would now be their own teachers.

Apart from the impact of technology on the teacher role it was suggested that if we examine past and present trends of teacher importance the suggestions of obsolescence is not substantiated. With each introduction of a new technology in the schools the interpretive role of teacher has remained and even increased in importance. Thus teachers today have more prestige than ever before. An examination of population trends likewise suggest a continuing importance. It is estimated that the world population will double in the next thirty five years. This doubling will probably take place primarily among people we call disadvantaged, those most removed from the technological advances of our society. It is unlikely that these people will reap the benefits of transistorized learning since by definition they are furthest removed from technological innovations and they will need schooling. Such a population will require the continued presence of teachers to act as interpreter, transmitter of culture and the like. Thus teacher will not only continue to have importance but this importance may increase in the future.

While Cohen accepted this as a possibility he nonetheless felt that the increased prestige given to teachers today was subject to another interpretation. It is precisely the importance which serves as a prognosticator for further decline. Whenever a culture reaches a particular point in its development it behaves as though this was the climax and proceeds to elaborate its institutions. But it is precisely such elaboration that serves as an indicator of change according to Cohen. Cultures must move on or they die. We can often infer the next point to which they will move from what has been most elaborated. This shows us what is going to change next, the most elaborated roles. Today we are doing this with the teacher: Johnson eulogizes the teacher; there is this myth of Johnson having been a teacher, and the like. All of this suggests the teacher's imminent disappearance.

How liberating would the new technology be? One speaker suggested that technology often mitigates between appropriate teaching and consequent learning. The intrusion of projectors and tapes when not relevent can impede and inhibit learning. Thus McGuffey's Reader was a technology and enormously valuable but it was misused; and so with the Workbooks and with tape equipment in language labs and the like.

Cohen agreed but argued we need to know more. He tended to stress what he felt was the liberating impact. With every advance in technology came agreater ability on the part of members of society to abstract. While Cohen felt that this was a real trend and one that came out in a study he was doing of art forms other participants disagreed. It was argued that it is individuals and not cultures that abstract and there is no evidence of increased individual abilities with technological advances. The discussion then centered on the meaning of abstraction.

One speaker suggested that if we are talking about the accumulation of man's ability to symbolize the world, i.e., the content of knowledge and its symbolization, then we can agree with Cohen. But this is not increased ability at the individual level.

Another speaker offered an operational definition of abstraction, that of substitution building. If you can "plug" it in, whatever "it" is, you have abstracted it. It was suggested that such an operational definition is useful since if you ask the man on the street what he can "plug" in or substitute intellectually it is a fair amount. In this sense the ability to abstract has increased.

But is this really abstraction? It was suggested that what has been referred to is merely an increase in lexicon. The individual's ability to use his vocabulary in ways we could call abstract or creative may not have increased and may even have declined. Comsumption is not the same thing as abstraction. The number of substitutions can increase with no change in the conceptualizations that underlie them. Thus any school child can name two explorers but many have no concept of exploration. We drive Cadillacs but know nothing about cars.

The entire question of predictability and of sources of prediction was dealt with by the panel. One member cautioned that any assumptions of inevitability about the future must be qualified. If we see something coming and wish to stop it we can generally do so. Thus it has been plausibly argued that the reason the materialist dialetic did not run its course was that Marx "couldn't keep his big mouth shut". Any assumption of inevitability must have at least this qualification attached to it.

Concerning the best sources for prediction, we have already noted the kinds of data participants referred to in their attempts to assess future educational developments. While Cohen relied on what he was as trends in cultural evolution other speakers used biological and technological analogies of collapse resulting from overelaboration, preceptions about human nature and particularly sociability needs and learning mechanisms, and past and present trends in teacher importance and adaptations to new technologies.

It was suggested that a good source of prognostication might be found in the study of conflict situations in the schools today. While trouble is differently defined by different groups there is trouble everywhere in the schools today. If we examine these conflicts we can begin to see possible trends of future development. Why have the conflicts arisen? What are the things that have to be resolved? In what direction should we move? A study of conflict illuminates the strains in our large culture.

Cohen agreed but argued that conflict should not be studied for its own sake but as a predicator of future developments. Commenting on the student revolt at Berkeley he suggested that the students were in revolt not only against the educational system of our society but also against the sexual standards and mores of their parents and in revolt against our political system. All of these together. These students are the prophets of the future. They sense what is coming and they are ready to participate in new social systems that are going to be further removed from the individual than today's system. By studying this kind of conflict we can see at what point the system is starting to give way. By studying such things as the behavior of parents who oppose local school policies we can see that the old stability we used to assume concerning local control over education is giving way.

The role of the family in education was also discussed by the group. One speaker took issue with Cohen's statement that the family's role as a transmitter of culture has declined. He suggested that the reverse has actually occurred, particularly in the urban middle classes. A generation also immigrant children received their entire formal training in the schools since parents did not understand the culture. Today there has been a tremendous emphasis among educated parents to develop the child so he is prepared for school, to interpret the teacher's inadequacies to the child, and the like.

The correctness of this observation was questioned. The time and curriculum of the middle class child is increasingly being taken over by the school, as is his sorting in the system. If he is not placed in the honors track, if he is not given advanced placement courses his opportunities for entrance into certain colleges are cut off. The parent has no control over this except by informal techniques.

Curriculum changes also are making it increasingly difficult for parents to help their children with their studies. One of the most important problems connected with the introduction of the new math in California may not be the lack of trained teachers but rather what do you do with parents who feel they are losing control.

In answer to this it was suggested that we need to distingiush between vocational education over which parents have little control and education more broadly defined.

It was also pointed out that recently in Washington, D.C. lower class parents, the poorest and least politically powerful, succeeded in throwing out the track system which was the pet idea of the superintendent. This would suggest some vestige of parental influence over education.

Despite these points, one speaker felt that this view failed to take into account the functions of education. To an increasing degree the educational system is determining the life chances of the individual and this sorting out is carried on independently of the family. Lower class parents lost control of this system a long time ago; middle class parents are now beginning to lose control.

Another issue which was discussed concerned the impact of our economy on education. It was pointed out that today we are producing a population of young people whom we do not need for increasingly longer periods of time. They are non-productive and we can afford to keep them so. Since there is increasing competition for the productive roles in our society this has profound implications for the kind of schooling we provide. It was suggested that there is differential schooling not only between schools but within schools and even within the same classroom. Sex, class, racial, and personality differences are used to train children for different adult roles.

It was agreed that the implications for educational institutions of people who are non-productive is one of the most urgent problems in our society.

Cohen suggested that we are going to have to instill new kinds of motivations for learning in a system in which people will not be engaged in productive economic activities. Not only are we going to have to find new reasons for wanting to do anything but we are also going to have to redefine the individual in American and Western culture.

With reference to the question of differential education Cohen suggested that we view this as an aspect of differential citizenship and differential political status. This is one of the ways in which society informs people as to what their relative political positions are in the total system. We must examine the entire question of what we educate people for. We educate them for many things. Likewise one of the ways we instill masculinity as against feminity is by differential education. It is necessary to separate problems of differential education which are problems of the moment from the problems of the future which must also be kept in mind.

To what extent is differential education in the classroom reflected in social differences outside? While undoubtedly there is some relationship the possibilities for diverse social action are fewer than theoretically exist in the classroom. It is necessary to look at the total society and the limits of social action in the system, not at the classroom alone. One must consider the feed back into the school of the society at large.

The discussion concluded with the comment that while we have thus far examined the possible future of education we have not yet discussed what education has already done to our future. It was suggested that education rather than not having done a good job has done too good a job. At no time in man's civilization have people had the expectation they now have of the rights to self fulfillment. Education has had a leveling effect and has convinced everyone of his rights to fulfill his life. It is going to be very hard to hold the line on class stratification. Student's are in revolt for a moral society and they learned that in school, students are demanding rights and a teacher probably taught them that.